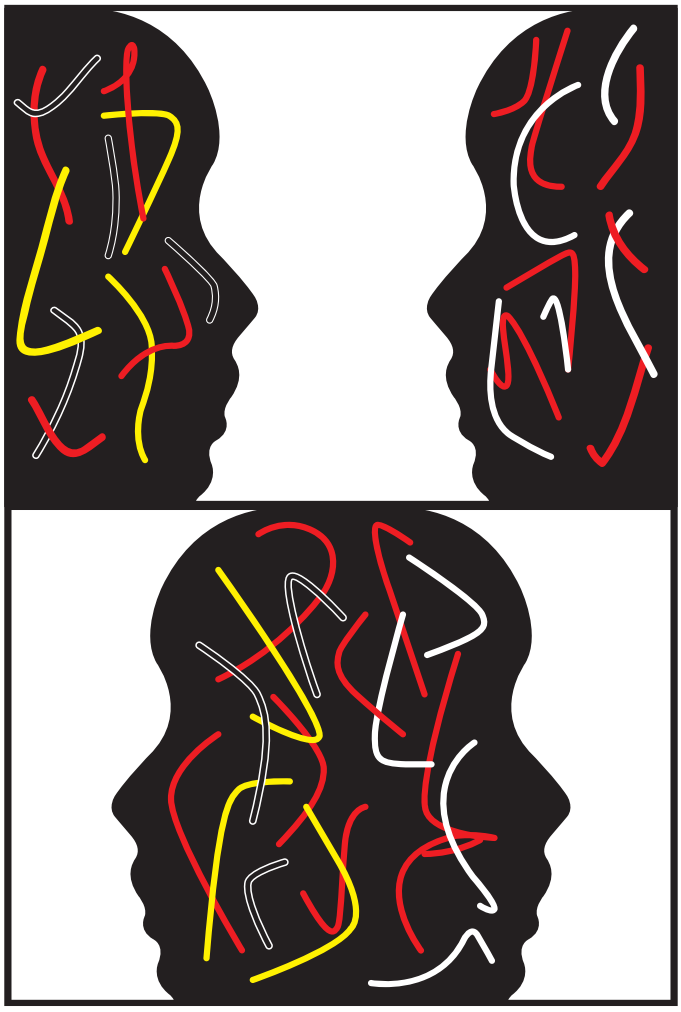

RELATED AND AUTONOMOUS:
CULTURAL PERSPECTIVES ON SELF, ACCULTURATION AND ADJUSTMENT

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Related and Autonomous: Cultural Perspectives on Self, Acculturation and Adjustment

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Summary

How are culturally valued ways of being and relating reflected in different self-construals across individualistic and collectivistic cultural contexts? What happens to the self-construal of acculturating persons from a collectivistic cultural background who either migrate to, or who are born into, individualistic mainstream cultures? Self-construals – how people define themselves in relation to others – differ between cultures. I conceive of the self as culturally informed and socially grounded in specific relationship contexts. My dissertation examines how people across cultural contexts and in acculturation contexts combine relatedness (affective closeness) and autonomy (self-governance) in their self-construals. Relatedness and autonomy are complementary human motives, yet collectivistic cultural contexts (Turkey) promote relatedness more and individualistic cultures (Belgium) value autonomy more. My focus is on the self in relationships with mothers and teachers as key socialization agents. Extending my approach of culture and self to acculturation contexts (Turkish and Moroccan minorities in Belgium), I examine how acculturating persons combine relatedness and autonomy in relation to mothers and teachers who represent heritage and mainstream cultural values respectively. My dissertation addresses three research aims: establish 1) distinct self-construals across different cultural and relational contexts; 2) self-construal in the acculturation context; and 3) its consequences for adjustment. The dissertation consists of six studies which are presented in four empirical chapters (Chapters 2 – 5). The chapters are written as stand-alone research papers, preceded by an introduction (Chapter 1), and followed by a discussion (Chapter 6).

To establish distinct self-construals across cultures and relationships (aim 1), Study 1 (Chapter 2) and 2 (Chapter 3) compare relatedness and autonomy in relation to mother and teachers across Turkish and Belgian students. As expected, Turkish students were more related and less autonomous than Belgians in relation to their teachers. In relation to their mothers, however, Turkish students were no less autonomous than Belgians. In Study 2 (not in Study 1) Turkish students were more related to their mothers than Belgians and relatedness was also less conflicting with autonomy.

To examine self-construal in acculturating persons (aim 2), Studies 3 (Chapter 3), 4, 5 (Chapter 4) and 6 (Chapter 5) assess relatedness and autonomy in minority samples in Belgium. In line with expected cultural differences, minorities

were more related and less autonomous than majority Belgians in relation to both mothers and teachers. Their self-construal was affected by acculturation preferences as well as actual acculturation: those who prefer heritage cultural maintenance were more related; those who prefer mainstream cultural contact more autonomous; with least conflict between relatedness and autonomy in those who integrate both cultures. Also, minorities' exposure to the mainstream culture in school and language mastery predicted autonomy (not relatedness) over time.

To test adjustment correlates of self-construal in acculturating youth (aim 3); Study 6 (Chapter 5) compares minority and majority relatedness and autonomy in relation to teachers. While relatedness was generally adaptive for school engagement and achievement, autonomy was adaptive for majority achievement only. For minority youth, the adaptive value of autonomy was conditional on high relatedness.

To conclude, my research articulates cultural differences and acculturation processes through the lens of people's situated and evolving self-construals of autonomy and relatedness to others.

Samenvatting

Hoe worden cultureel gewaardeerde manieren van zijn en omgaan met anderen weerspiegeld in verschillende zelfconstructies in individualistische en collectivistische culturele contexten? Wat gebeurt er met de zelfconstructie van acculturerende personen met een collectivistische culturele achtergrond die ofwel migreren naar, ofwel opgroeien in, een individualistische culturele context? Zelfconstructies – hoe mensen zichzelf definiëren in relatie tot anderen – verschillen tussen culturen. Ik vat het zelf op als cultureel geïnformeerd en sociaal ingebed in specifieke relaties met anderen. Mijn proefschrift onderzoekt hoe mensen in verschillende culturele contexten en in een acculturatiecontext binding (affectieve nabijheid) en autonomie (zelfbeschikking) combineren in hun zelfconstructies. Binding en autonomie zijn complementaire menselijke motieven, maar collectivistische culturele contexten (Turkije) moedigen binding sterker aan en individualistische culturen (België) autonomie. Mijn onderzoek richt zich op het zelf in sociale relaties met moeders en leraars als belangrijke socialiserende actoren. Ik pas mijn benadering van cultuur en zelf ook toe in de context van migratie en acculturatie (Turkse en Marokkaanse minderheden in België). Mijn onderzoek gaat na hoe acculturerende personen binding en autonomie combineren in hun relaties met hun moeders en leraars die resp. de minderheids- en de meerderheidscultuur representeren. Samengevat worden drie grote onderzoeksdoelen beoogd: 1) onderscheiden zelf-constructies beschrijven over verschillende culturele en relationele contexten heen; 2) zelf-constructen in een acculturatiecontext onderzoeken; en 3) hun gevolgen voor psychologische aanpassing. Het proefschrift bestaat uit 6 studies die in 4 empirische hoofdstukken worden gepresenteerd (Hoofdstukken 2 – 5). De hoofdstukken zijn geschreven als zelfstandige papers die worden voorafgegaan door een inleidend hoofdstuk en afgerond met een discussiehoofdstuk.

Om zelfconstructies in verschillende culturen en sociale relaties te onderscheiden (doel 1), vergelijken Studies 1 (Hoofdstuk 1) en 2 (Hoofdstuk 2) binding met autonomie in relatie tot moeders en leraars bij Turkse en Belgische studenten in Turkije en België resp. In hun relatie met hun moeder waren Turkse studenten niet minder autonoom dan Belgen. In Studie 2 (niet Studie 1) waren Turkse studenten meer dan Belgen verbonden met hun moeders en stond hun binding ook minder op gespannen voet met autonomie.

Om zelfconstructies van acculturerende personen te bestuderen (doel 2), bevragen Studies 3 (Hoofdstuk 3), 4, 5 (Hoofdstuk 4) en 6 (Hoofdstuk 5) binding en autonomie bij culturele minderheden in België. In lijn met de verwachte cultuurverschillen, waren minderheden sterker verbonden en ook minder autonoom dan culturele meerderheidsleden in hun relaties met hun moeders en leraars. Bovendien waren hun zelfconstructies gevoelig voor individuele acculturatie voorkeuren en feitelijke acculturatie: wie meer belang hecht aan cultuurbehoud was meer verbonden; wie meer gericht is op cultuurcontact was meer autonoom; bovendien was er minder conflict tussen binding en autonomie voor wie beide culturen integreert. Ten slotte voorspelden Nederlandse taalvaardigheid en contact met de meerderheidscultuur op school meer en toenemende autonomie (maar niet minder binding).

Om verbanden met psychologische aanpassing te toetsen (doel 3), vergelijkt Studie 6 (Hoofdstuk 5) binding en autonomie in relaties met leraars bij minderheids- en meerderheidsleerlingen. Binding was positief voor de studiemotivatie en -prestaties van alle leerlingen maar autonomie was alleen positief voor prestaties van meerderheidsleerlingen. Voor minderheidsleerlingen was autonomie wel positief indien zij ook een sterke binding hadden.

Mijn onderzoek werpt nieuw licht op cultuurverschil en acculturatie vanuit het samenspel van binding en autonomie in cultureel en sociaal gesitueerde zelfconstructies.

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Contents

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.1 Research Problem and Approach

Elif is a Turkish student who will soon take the university entrance exam. She describes herself as caring for her family and pursuing her own life goals: "I want to study Fine Arts at the university but I also don't want my parents to get upset about my choice. I am trying to convince them that this is the right choice for me, this is what I want to try. Otherwise I will have to deal with their criticisms –sad face." Tine is a Belgian student who sees herself as making her own decisions independently from her family: "I am studying Psychology because this is my personal choice. I have a good relationship with my parents but we each have our own lives. I would never change my mind just because they might have a different career in mind for me". Elif and Tine express their commitment to distinct relatedness and autonomy goals: they both value a warm relationship with their parents; and they also want to make their own life choices. Yet, they combine relatedness and autonomy goals in different ways, in line with cultural differences between Turkey and Belgium. Whereas a Belgian variant of individualism prioritizes individual decision making or autonomy, a Turkish variant of collectivism stresses emotional closeness or relatedness (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2005). I conceive of individualism and collectivism as continua and not as mutually exclusive categories. Therefore, cultural differences in self-construal (e.g. when comparing Turkish and Belgian cultures) are to be interpreted as relative, evolving and contextual rather than absolute, fixed or general.

In my dissertation I ask the question how culturally valued ways of being and relating are reflected in the personal self-construals of Elif and Tine. I examined this interplay between culture and self in different relationships, such as those/relationships with parents and teachers, and in the context of acculturation, such as when Elif would migrate to Belgium. Self-construals refer to the varying ways in which individuals define themselves and make sense of previous and new experiences (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002; Pouliasi & Verkuyten, 2012). Cross-cultural research has conceived of cultural differences in self-construal by differentiating between an independent and an interdependent self (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). A more fine-grained conceptualization of culture and self derives from complementary human motives for autonomy and relatedness which are present in all cultures. It defines cultural differences in terms of the relative importance of both motives in people's daily social interactions and in self-understandings (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2005). In Western

cultures of relative individualism, autonomy is most important, while relatedness to others is more often prioritized in non-Western, rathercollectivist cultures (see also Becker et al., 2012; Güngör, Karasawa, Boiger, Dinçer & Mesquita, 2014; Güngör, Phalet & Kağıtçıbaşı, 2013).

From a cultural psychology perspective, selves are embedded in cultures, so that culture and self mutually constitute each other (Heine, 2008). People in different cultures define themselves in different ways in accordance with culturally valued ways of being and relating. Self-definition is not an individual act: people constantly negotiate their selves within social relationships with significant others (Cooley, 1993), so that cultural differences emerge from repeated social interactions in specific relationship contexts, for instance with parents, friends or romantic partners (Chen, Boucher & Tapias, 2006; Neff & Harter, 2003). Thus, relatively collectivist cultures emphasize social connectedness or relatedness more than Western, rather individualistic cultures (cf. Oyserman et al., 2002 for a review). Yet, the evidence of autonomous self-construal is not restricted to Western cultures (Chirkov, Ryan, Kim, & Kaplan, 2003). Rather, with globalization and migration, people in non-Western cultures increasingly combine autonomy goals and culturally prescribed relatedness. The question of *how they combine these goals in which contexts and with which consequences*, is my central research problematique. In this dissertation I mainly focus on the Turkish minority in Belgium as an acculturating group with a relatively collectivistic cultural background; and I also compare across Turkish youth in Turkey and Belgian youth or young adults in Belgium as (more collectivistic) heritage and (more individualistic) mainstream cultural reference groups respectively.

To address my research questions, my studies are organized around three major aims (see Figure 1.1 for a schematic overview). My first research aim is to establish distinct self-construals across different cultural and relational contexts (see Figure 1.1, upper left half). In view of the situated nature of self, my interest here is to examine the interplay of culture with specific relationship contexts, such as those with parents and teachers. My second aim is to investigate self-construals in the acculturation context (see Figure 1.1, lower left half). I am interested in understanding the self-construals of acculturating persons and how they relate to acculturation attitudes as well as actual cultural exposure. My third and last aim is to investigate the psychological consequences of self-construal for the adjustment of acculturating persons (see Figure 1.1, right hand side).

Throughout my dissertation, I focus on two distinct motives which are central to people's self-construal and which are known to differ between cultures: relatedness and autonomy. Building on Kağıtçıbaşı's (2005, 2007) concepts and measures, I define relatedness (vs. separateness) in terms of affective closeness (i.e., maintaining close and warm relationships vs. keeping others at a distance) and autonomy (vs. heteronomy) in terms of self-governance (i.e., independent decision making vs. depending on others, yielding to others). While these constructs do not cover all possible aspects of relatedness and autonomy (for a review see Hmel & Pincus, 2002), they capture meaningful variation over the cultures and relationships that I studied.

1.2 Research Aims and Added Value

Studies 1 and 2 (in Chapters 2 and 3) address my first aim to establish cultural and relational differences in self-construals (see Figure 1.1). I consider cultural differences in self as arising from people's repeated engagement in relationships with others (Markus & Kitayama, 2003). Specifically, the current studies examine how relatedness and autonomy differ between Turkish and Belgian cultures –which represent relatively collectivistic vs. individualistic cultural contexts respectively. Kağıtçıbaşı (1996) conceived of both autonomy and relatedness as defining the self in relation to close others. Looking beyond general cultural differences in self-construals, I conceive of both relatedness and autonomy as negotiated in different social relationships. My research examines relationships with parents and teachers as key socializing agents in family and school contexts respectively. Both parents and teachers are –by virtue of their role as socializing agents– modeling culturally appropriate ways of being and relating for the next generation. My research adds to the culture and self literature by studying cultural differences within specific relationships with mothers and teachers. For instance, will Elif and Tine also differ in the way they combine relatedness and autonomy in their relationship with teachers? Study 1 compares the relative importance of relatedness and autonomy across relationships with parents and teachers in Turkey and in Belgium, while Study 2 focuses on the relationship with parents. In addition to the relative importance of relatedness and autonomy, Study 2 also examines when both motives are conflicting (negative correlations). Would Elif see autonomy as less conflicting with relatedness than Tine?

Study 3 (Chapter 3), Studies 4 and 5 (Chapter 4) and Study 6 (Chapter 5) address my second research aim: These studies extend the cultural psychology of self to the context of acculturation (see Figure 1.1). I investigate what happens to people's self-construal when they migrate from a relatively collectivistic to a relatively individualistic cultural context, or when they grow up with both types of cultures in the acculturation context. To address this question, I compare Turkish and Moroccan minorities in Belgium as acculturating groups to majority Belgian youth and young adults as mainstream cultural reference groups. To elucidate how acculturation processes are intertwined with the self, I related the self-construal of acculturating youth to both objective and attitudinal measures of acculturation. Acculturation research documents simultaneous processes of cultural maintenance and adoption, resulting in cultural continuity as well as changes. Acculturation attitudes refer to the preferences of acculturating persons to maintain the heritage culture and/or to adopt the mainstream culture. These attitudes are domain-specific so people alternate between heritage and mainstream cultural preferences in different behavioral domains or social relationships (Berry, 2003). The current studies contribute to acculturation research by relating explicit acculturation measures to more implicit changes in people's self-construal. Specifically, Study 3 relates the self-construal of acculturating youth in their relationship with parents to their explicit acculturation attitudes. Studies 4 and 5 both associate the self-construal of acculturating youth in their relationship with teachers with mainstream language mastery and actual cultural exposure in the school environment, both cross-sectionally and longitudinally. When Elif migrates to Belgium, how will she combine autonomy and relatedness in her relationship with her Turkish parents and with Belgian teachers? Will she maintain relatedness and/or stress autonomy in these relationships? Does her evolving self-construal in these relationships reflect her acculturation preferences and experiences?

To address my third aim, Study 6 (in Chapter 5) examines the consequences of different self-construals for the acculturative adjustment of Turkish minority youth in Belgium as compared to majority Belgian youth (see Figure 1.1). My study on the self-construal of acculturating youth adds to acculturation research, which relies mostly on explicit acculturation attitudes as predictors of acculturative adjustment. Adjustment measures focus on the school context and include school engagement and achievement as distinct aspects of school adjustment. How would Elif's self-construal in relation to her Belgian teachers differ from that of

her Belgian peers; and how would this connect to her motivation and achievement as a student of Fine Arts?

To sum up, my dissertation adds to the cultural psychology of self and to acculturation studies in four ways. First, the conceptualization of different self-construals as combinations of relatedness with autonomy is more fine-grained than the usual dichotomy between interdependent and independent selves. Second, I examine cultural differences in self in two socially relevant relationships for adolescents: with mother and with teachers. Thus, my research reveals how self-construals are grounded in social relationships with close others and how cultural differences in self arise from people's repeated engagement in social interactions with these others. Moreover, my research adds to the psychological acculturation literature by articulating cultural continuity and change in self-construal as a more implicit level of acculturation and as distinct from explicit acculturation attitudes (De Leersnyder, Mesquita & Kim, 2011). Finally, my findings have applied relevance for the acculturation and adjustment of minority youth with long-term consequences for their societal inclusion. A distinctive empirical strength of my PhD research is its cross-cultural comparative scope, using cross-culturally validated measures across different cultural contexts and groups.

In the following sections of this chapter, I introduce the theoretical framework on which I built my research (section 1.2). Specifically, I review the literature and argue my hypotheses on self, culture and relationships (1.2.1), self in the context of acculturation (1.2.2) and the consequences of self for acculturative adjustment (1.2.3). Next, I briefly introduce my research groups of Turkish and Belgian majorities and Turkish and Moroccan minorities in Belgium as well as the main measures of self-construals, acculturation and adjustment that I used in my studies (1.3). Finally, I give an overview of my empirical studies and chapters (1.7).

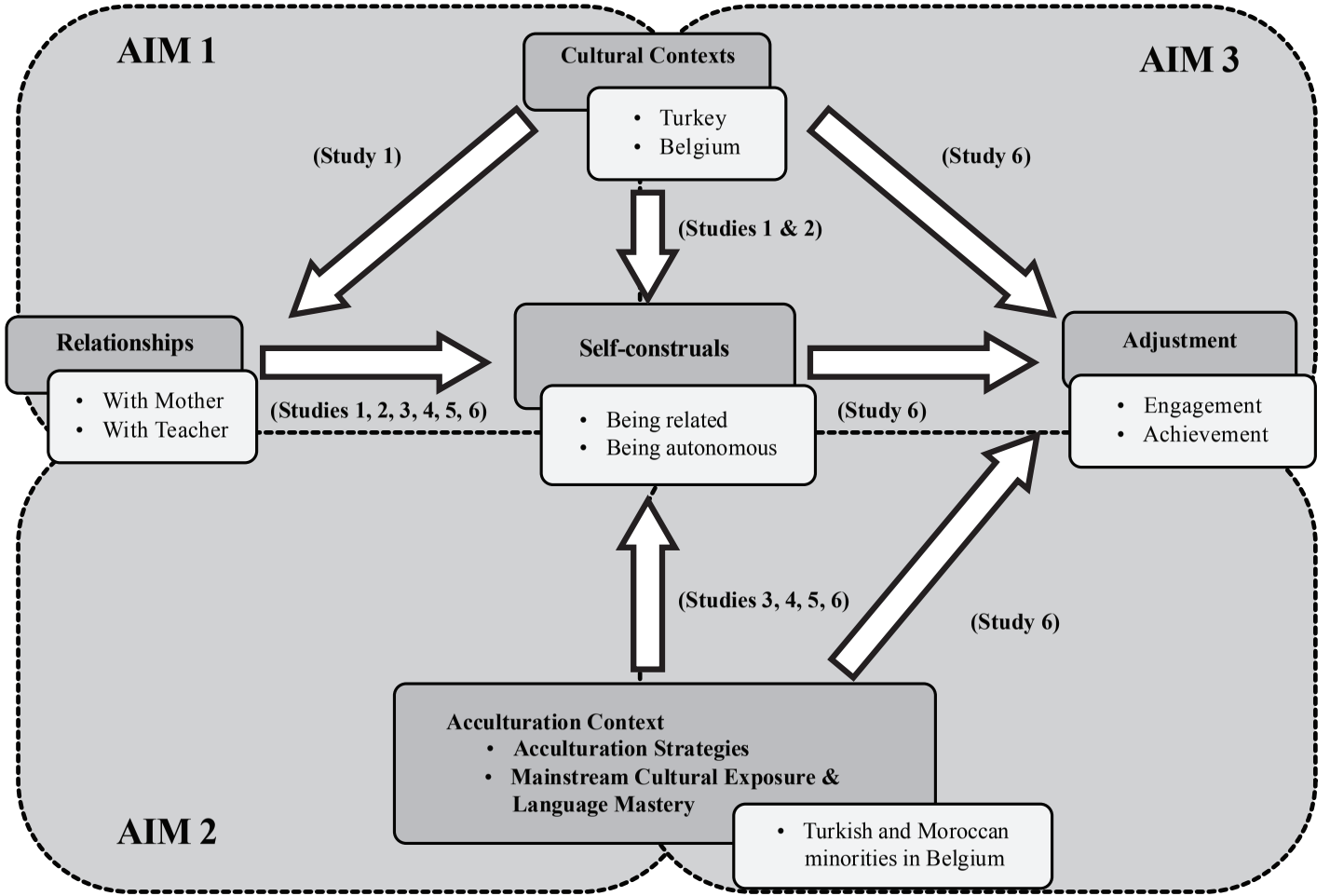

Figure 1.1 Research Framework: A Cultural and Relational Approach to Self, Acculturaion and Adjastment

1.3 Theoretical Framework

1.3.1 Self in Cultures and Relationships

Cultural Differences in Relatedness and Autonomy

Self-construals are ways in which individuals define themselves and make sense of past and new experiences (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). These construals are informed by different cultural models of self and social relationships (Heine, 2008). There is abundant evidence of cultural differences in self-construals, distinguishing between the independent self of Western Europeans and more interdependent self-construals in many other European cultures (e.g., Pouliasi & Verkuyten, 2011 on Dutch vs. Greek self-construals). Similarly, cross-cultural comparisons have also contrasted a North-American independent self with an East-Asian interdependent self (Cross, Hardin, Gercek-Swing, 2011; Oyserman et al., 2002).

Relatedness and Autonomy. Moving beyond a dichotomy between independence and interdependence, Kağıtçıbaşı (2005, 2007) proposed a more fine-grained approach of cultural differences in self-construals (for a similar conceptualization see also İmamoğlu, 2003). Kağıtçıbaşı's Autonomous-Related Self Theory defines relatedness and autonomy as orthogonal dimensions, which are not mutually exclusive but coexist within the person. Starting from relatedness and autonomy as not exclusively conflicting (as suggested by Hoffman, 1984 for example) but complementary motives across cultures, this theory conceptualizes cultural differences in terms of the relative importance of relatedness and autonomy. While more individualistic cultures promote personal autonomy (in the sense of self-governance and independent decision making versus depending on others'decisions), more collectivist cultures stress relatedness (in the sense of affective closeness versus distance from others) (Triandis, 1989). Extensive cross-cultural research documents cultural differences in the way people combine relatedness and autonomy motives (Fiske, Kitayama, Markus & Nisbett, 1998; Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996; İmamoğlu, 1998; Reis, Collins & Berscheid, 2000). For instance, people in relatively collectivistic cultures can combine relatedness with varying degrees of autonomy in different relationships. Qualifying a well-established distinction between independent and interdependent self-construals (Markus & Kitayama, 2003), my own research builds on this more nuanced conception of culture and self. Throughout my studies, I refer to *relatedness* (vs. separateness) as affective closeness (i.e., maintaining close and warm relationships vs. keeping

others at a distance) and to *autonomy* (vs. heteronomy) as self-governance (i.e., independent decision making vs. depending on others, yielding to others).

A bidimensional conception of self from complementary relatedness and autonomy motives implies that one or the other motive can be foregrounded in social interactions with others, depending on the specific relationship context (for instance, with mother) and on the larger cultural environment (for instance, in relatively collectivistic cultures). My research examines the interplay of culture and self in different relationship contexts. From a bidimensional approach, there is no inherent conflict between relatedness and autonomy motives. At the cultural level, both motives can be simultaneously promoted in particular relationship contexts. Similarly at the individual level, relatedness and autonomy need not be in conflict within the person when personal autonomy is not seen as a threat to the relationship. My research addresses the debated issue of motivational 'conflict' between relatedness and autonomy, both at the cultural and at the individual level.

Reviewing many different definitions of autonomy, Hmel and Pincus (2002) conclude that mainstream psychology has long equated autonomy with individuation and separation from (close) others (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1989). Challenging a prevailing individualistic understanding of individual autonomy as synonymous with social separation, cultural psychologists have opened up the autonomy construct to more relational forms of agency, stressing that people can pursue their own goals while maintaining close interpersonal relationships (Chirkov et al., 2003; Markus & Kitayama, 2003). Accordingly, I defined autonomy as self-governance in the sense of prioritizing one's own goals and relying on independent decision making (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2005; Rasmussen, 2009; Güngör et al., 2014). Whereas autonomy is often associated with separateness in Western cultures emphasizing more individualism, alternate combinations of autonomy with relatedness are more likely in more collectivist cultures. From a cultural psychology perspective, relatedness is defined as an interpersonal distance dimension of the self (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2005). It refers to a sense of connectedness in relation to others and denotes affective closeness, warmth, and interpersonal sharing (Morelli & Rothbaum, 2007). In my dissertation, I study how people combine relatedness and autonomy dimensions of the self in different cultures. Thus, I aim to disentangle distinct issues of self-other boundaries (relatedness or separateness) and self-governance (autonomy or heteronomy) in people's self-understandings across cultures (Güngör et al., 2014; Pöhlmann & Hannover, 2006).

Cultural Differences. How do people in different cultures combine relatedness and autonomy? My research adds to the culture-and-self literature first and foremost by comparing less researched cultures than the usual North-American and East-Asian comparison. There is some evidence that the Belgian cultural context promotes a distinct variant of individualism which balances autonomy with relatedness (Boiger, De Deyne & Mesquita, 2013; Phalet & Claeys, 1993). Also in North America, personal autonomy is valued along with relatedness to close others. In fact, work by Cross and colleagues (Cross, Bacon & Morris 2000; Gore & Cross, 2006) highlighted a 'relational independent self' in North-American cultures, which included related others into an independent definition of self. Similarly, Chen and her colleagues found that a 'relational self' was a significant part of people's self-definition also in rather individualistic cultures (Chen, Boucher & Tapias, 2006). Likewise, emotional closeness in (nuclear) family relationships was found to coexist with the socialization of autonomy across thirty cultures (Georgas, Berry, van de Vijver, Kağıtçıbaşı & Poortinga, 2006). In a similar way, central relatedness goals in non-Western cultures were not necessarily at the cost of personal autonomy. Indeed, Weisz and colleagues pointed to the use of secondary control (i.e., accommodating existing circumstances rather than changing them) as a form of interrelated agency which is valued in East Asian cultures like Japan (Weisz, Rothbaum & Blackburn, 1984). Similarly, Asian-American kids were most intrinsically motivated for a task when close others had selected it, but they were also motivated, be it a little less, when they had selected it themselves (Iyengar & Lepper, 1999). In Turkey, there is converging evidence of an autonomous-related self among university students (İmamoğlu & Karakitapoğlu-Aygün, 2004; Kağıtçıbaşı, Ataca & Diri, 2010; Üskül, Hynie & Lalonde, 2004) in line with dual socialization goals stressing both relatedness and autonomy in urban families (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2005; see Trommsdorff & Nauck, 2005 for cross-cultural evidence).

Although relatedness and autonomy co-exist at the cultural level in both Western and non-Western cultures, at the personal level they are negotiated in social relationships (Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2007). More specifically, relatedness and autonomy can be negatively associated if relatedness and autonomy motives or goals are seen as conflicting in a particular relationship and culture. In both individualistically oriented and collectivistically oriented cultures, there is evidence that relatedness and autonomy are often conflicting within the person (Kim, Cohen & Au, 2010; Kim & Markus, 1999). Yet, there is also evidence

that in certain cultural and relational contexts, both types of goals can be less conflicting than in others. For instance, in their relationship with their mother, urban Turkish youngsters experienced no significant conflict between relatedness and autonomy (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2005).

To sum up, my research explores to what extent relatedness and autonomy can be combined in Turkish and Belgian self-construals. Since relatedness and autonomy are negotiated in relation to particular others, my research shifts focus from general cultural differences in self to more fine-grained cultural differences in particular relationship contexts.

Relational Differences in Relatedness and Autonomy

The way we define ourselves is guided by our relationships with significant others. People construe the self differently depending on the social relationships or interactions they are engaging in (Chen et al., 2006; Neff & Harter, 2003). Extending the culture-and-self literature, my dissertation compares self-construals in different relationship contexts within the different cultures. Like relatedness, autonomy is also grounded in our relationships with others to the extent that personal autonomy is socially negotiated with and granted by related others. In support of a relational approach of the self, self-definitions are contingent on relationships with specific others, so that the same person can be more or less related and more or less autonomous in different relationship contexts (Andersen & Chen, 2002; Mc Connell, 2011; Neff & Harter, 2003). In line with this reasoning, it is not surprising that cultural differences in self were found to be relationship-specific. For instance, Üskül, Hynie and Lalonde (2004) found that cultural differences in relatedness (as measured by the Inclusion of Other into Self scale) between Turks and Canadians varied between relationship contexts, with more pronounced cultural differences in family relations than in relations with romantic partners. Furthermore, the precise meaning of relatedness was shown to be relationship-specific. For instance, in their attempt to develop a graphic measure of closeness, Uleman and colleagues (Uleman, Rhee, Bardoliwalla, Semin & Toyama, 2000) found that emotional closeness, but not reputational closeness (i.e., assigned familial closeness) to kin was similar across Turkish and Dutch cultures. Additional indirect evidence of the situated nature of self-construal comes from cultural priming studies. Pöhlmann and Hannover (Studies 3 and 4, 2006) found that German participants with an independent (versus interdependent) self construal liked their best friend's and partner's name's initials better when

primed with cultural contents that were congruent (versus incongruent) with their habitual self-construal. When asked about liking their mother's name's initials, this congruence effect appeared only in interdependents. These findings suggest that cultural differences can be observed in some relational contexts and not in others. Building on the existing evidence of context-sensitive self-construal across cultures, I propose that cultural differences in relatedness and autonomy are best studied in particular relationship contexts.

In my research, I focus on distinct relationships of adolescents with mothers and teachers as key socializing agents within and outside the family respectively. I explore cultural differences in self-construal between Turkey and Belgium through the lens of specific relationship contexts with mothers and teachers. These relationship contexts are chosen because they represent important socialization contexts at home and in school (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996; Keller, 2003). Home and school stand for the main socialization contexts during adolescence, where mothers and teachers respectively communicate cultural values in their daily interactions with adolescents. In the next paragraphs I discuss the literature on both social relationships and I argue my research hypotheses.

Turkish and Belgian Self-construals in Relation to Teachers. Schools are a key socialization context outside the family where cultural values and social norms and rules are transmitted from one generation to the next (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Goodenow, 1992; Sullivan, 2002). In the school environment, students' relationships with their teachers play an important role in processes of cultural transmission and culture learning (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Wentzel & Looney, 2007). While this relationship context has remained understudied in cultural psychology, there is some evidence of cultural differences in self-construal from cross-cultural studies of student-teacher relationships. For instance, minorities from rather collectivist cultural backgrounds valued relatedness with teachers more than their mainstream peers in the United States (Fryberg & Markus, 2007; Kim, 2002). Also, minority students were more committed to relational values, such as obedience and meeting expectations in school, relative to their majority peers (Stephens, Fryberg, Markus, Johnson & Covarrubias, 2012). Similarly, being related and close was more highly valued by Turkish teachers than North-American ones, so that former reported more closeness and less conflict with their students as compared with the latter (Beyazkürk & Kesner, 2005). Finally, Turkish students' school belonging was more affected by perceived relationship quality with teachers than it was by the perceived quality of other aspects of

the school environment (Cemalcılar, 2010). Together, these findings suggest the prime importance of close and warm relationships with teachers from both students' and teachers' perspectives in Turkey, in line with cultural collectivism.

In contrast, North-American teachers expected significant autonomy from their students and valued personal autonomy as a necessary prerequisite to effectively teach and learn school tasks (Pianta, Nimetz & Bennett, 1997). In a similar vein, Belgian teachers also stress autonomy in their relationship with students (Leflot, Onghena & Colpin, 2010). Studies in Belgium have also found that students' autonomy predicts the quality of the teacher-student relationship (Doumen, Koomen, Buyse, Wouters & Verschueren, 2012; Soenens & Vansteenkiste, 2005). On the other hand, it seems that the cultural norm for emotional support in the school context is less established in Belgium. In a longitudinal study with child-teacher dyads in Kindergarten, researchers found less consensus among teachers on how much emotional support should be given than on how much autonomy support they should give. (Buyse, Verschueren, Verachtert & Van Damme, 2009). Extrapolating from the established cultural differences in self between Turkish and Belgian student-teacher relationships therefore, *I hypothesized that the relationship with Turkish teachers in Turkish schools would afford more related self-construals, whereas the relationship with Belgian teachers in Belgian schools would afford more autonomous self-construals.* This hypothesis is tested in Study 1 (cf. Chapter 2) in which I compared Turkish and Belgian students' self-construals in relation to their Turkish and Belgian teachers respectively.

Turkish and Belgian Self-construals in Relation to Mother. Several cross-cultural studies reported that Turkish self-construals overlapped more with family members, including parents, as compared to North-American or European self-construals (Üskül et al., 2004; Uleman et al., 2000). At the same time, Turkish and Greek students defined themselves as more related but no less autonomous than U.S. and Dutch students (Pouliasi & Verkuyten, 2011; Üskül et al., 2004). This finding resonates with cross-cultural findings of combined relatedness and autonomy in parental socialization goals and values in modern collectivistic cultures such as Turkey, especially in urban families (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996; Keller, 2003). In line with Kağıtçıbaşı's (2005) self theory, urban Turkish parents encouraged their children to strive for personal autonomy while also preserving emotional relatedness to their parents. In support of the theory, Turkish adolescents reported high levels of both relatedness and autonomy in relation

to their mother (Güngör & Bornstein, 2010; İmamoğlu & Karakitapoğlu-Aygün, 2004; Kağıtçıbaşı, 2007; Kağıtçıbaşı & Ataca, 2005).

Qualifying general cultural differences in self-construal further, Georgas et al., (2006) found that relationships within nuclear families, such as the relationship between parents and their children, across cultures were characterized by high relatedness or emotional closeness; Northern European cultures were no exception. Accordingly, Belgian adolescents described their relationships with parents in terms of relatedness in the first place and then in terms of autonomy (Beyers, Goossens, Vansant & Moors, 2003). Moreover, in a Belgian-Canadian comparative study, as compared to North-American youth, Belgian youngsters described their relationship with mother as more closely related (Claes, 1998). Consistently, Buhl (2008) found that adolescents' good relations with parents in Germany was associated with relatedness as well as individual autonomy. These findings suggest that especially in Europe, which would represent a distinct variant of individualism (Boiger et al., 2013), relatedness is highly valued – at least in the context of parent-child relationships. At the same time, Belgian parents who valued a warm and close relationship with their adolescent children also encouraged autonomy in their children (Beyers et al., 2003), in line with cultural variants of collectivism. More generally, Wang and Tamis-LeMonda (2003) found that Anglo mothers in the United States most often endorsed both relatedness and autonomy as developmental goals for their children. Against this background, I reasoned that differences in self-construal between Turkish and Belgian cultures may be less pronounced in relation to mothers (vs. teachers). Accordingly, *Study 1 (cf. Chapter 2) tested the hypothesis that Turkish and Belgian youth would differ more in their relationship with their teacher than in relation to their mother.* Also in Study 2 (cf. Chapter 3) I tested cultural differences in relatedness and autonomy in relation to mothers. Again in relation to mothers, both Study 1 and 2 also examined degrees of conflict[1] between relatedness and autonomy for Turkish and Belgian participants.

[1] In studies 1, 2, 3, and 4, I investigate the association between relatedness and autonomy. I use the mainstream terminology and refer to "conflict" for the ease of understanding. However, in Studies 2 and 3 (cf. Chapter 3), my co-authors and I specifically focused on the debated conceptualization of conflict between Relatedness and Autonomy, suggesting that compatibility is possible under some contextual conditions relating to acculturation. Therefore, Chapter 3 refers to "compatibility" instead of "conflict" to better portray those contextual conditions.

To conclude: in line with relative orientations toward cultural collectivism versus individualism, I expected more relatedness and less autonomy across relationships in the Turkish culture as compared to the Belgian culture. At the same time, I proposed that cultural differences in self-construal would be most pronounced in less close relationship contexts, such as with teachers, since close relationships, such as with mothers, have been associated with high relatedness across cultures (Georgas et al., 2001). These hypotheses were put to a test in Studies 1 and 2, which compare self-construals in relation to teachers and mothers between Turkish students in Turkey and Belgian students in Belgium (cf. Chapters 2 and 3).

1.3.2 Self in Acculturation Contexts

Cultural changes in relatively collectivistic societies have entailed the incorporation of individualistic cultural elements and have been labelled 'remote' or 'indirect' acculturation (Berry, 2008; Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012; Hansen, Postmes, Tovote & Bos, 2014). The term 'indirect acculturation' is used here to refer to general processes of cultural diffusion without first-hand culture contact, for instance through the spread of material or technological goods (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2015; Hansen, Postmes, Tovote, & Bos, 2014). For example, new psychological patterns similar to those of the reference culture members may arise in some segments of relatively collectivist societies due to their extensive access to another culture's material practices (e.g. via globalization: Ferraro & Andreatta, 2010). One most prominent way of globalization bringing geographically distant cultures into indirect contact is through the diffusion of mainly Western, rather individualistic cultural ideas, products and institutions. As distinct from indirect acculturation, migration brings distant cultural groups into direct and most often sustained first-hand contact.

The second aim of my dissertation is to investigate how direct cultural contact or 'direct acculturation' in the context of migration affects people's self-construals. Specifically, I studied self-construals in the context of migration from relatively collectivistic societies such as Turkey and Morocco to a more individualistic society such as Belgium. In migration contexts, acculturation processes refer to psychological adjustments to new or different cultural contexts and related changes in psychological patterns including the self-construal of acculturating persons. From a cultural psychology perspective, the acculturation context provides a natural lab to study cultural influences on self and identity

(Phinney, 2003; Yamada & Singelis, 1999). Unlike the explicit social and cultural identities of cultural minorities, their self-construals are under-researched in acculturation contexts (but see Bender & Ng, 2009; Güngör et al., 2013; Yamada & Singelis, 1999). Exceptions are cultural priming studies with fully culturally competent biculturals which revealed experimental effects on biculturals' self-construals in line with known cultural differences (Hong, Morris, Chiu & Benet-Martínez, 2000; Sui, Zhu & Chiu, 2007; Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2006). For instance, Asian-American and Greek-Dutch biculturals switched to a related self-construal in response to heritage cultural primes; and they switched to an autonomous self in response to mainstream cultural primes.

My research is part of a recent stream of acculturation studies which document psychological changes in patterns of emotions, self-esteem and personality as a consequence of people's engagement in new or different cultures (Güngör, Bornstein, De Leersnyder et al., 2013; De Leersnyder, Mesquita & Kim, 2011; Heine & Lehman, 2004). For example, De Leersnyder et al., (2011) studied the emotional patterns of Turkish-Belgian acculturating persons and found evidence of increasing similarity to mainstream emotional patterns with the prolonged exposure to the culture. Building on indirect evidence from emotional acculturation studies and looking beyond cultural frame-switching in response to situational cues, I focus on social relationships with parents and teachers as real-life acculturation contexts. To articulate culturally distinct and evolving self-construals in acculturating persons, my studies complement experimental priming methods with cross-cultural comparative and longitudinal research strategies.

My dissertation takes a bidimensional approach of acculturation in terms of simultaneous maintenance of the heritage culture and adoption of the majority culture (Berry, 2003). Accordingly, my research examines simultaneous processes of cultural continuity and change in the self-construals of acculturating persons. Looking beyond attitudinal measures of acculturation, I extend cultural psychological research on self-processes to acculturation research. Specifically, I investigate whether Turkish and Moroccan minorities in Belgium, as compared to majority Belgians, are more related and less autonomous in their relationships with mother and teachers, in line with the expected cultural differences in self-construal. Furthermore, I examine how relatedness and autonomy in acculturating persons are associated with their acculturation attitudes towards both heritage and mainstream cultures, as well as with their actual acculturation – as indicated by Dutch language mastery and exposure to the mainstream culture in school.

Cultural Differences and Acculturation Processes

Redfield, Linton and Herskovits (1936, p.149) originally defined acculturation as "comprehend(ing) those phenomena that result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns". Acculturation processes encompass social and psychological changes during those intercultural interactions (Sam & Berry, 2010). From new immigrants' point of view, the experience of acculturation follows from their prolonged exposure to the members, institutions, traditions and lifestyles of a new culture, which may be very different from their heritage culture (Berry, 2003). From the perspective of the children of immigrants, their acculturation experiences reflect how they negotiate different cultures as they maintain aspects of the heritage culture while also adopting aspects of the mainstream culture. Thus, psychological acculturation is commonly defined as a bidimensional process through whichpeople adopt certain elements of the mainstream culture they are exposed to, as well as maintain elements of the heritage culture (Berry, 2003; Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000). Moreover, acculturation processes are domain-specific (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2004), as acculturating youth are exposed to different cultures in their relationship with parents at home and in relationships with mainstream culture members, such as their school teachers. Across different social contexts and relationships, acculturating youth are thus exposed to distinct sets of cultural norms and values.

Extending relational differences in self-construal to the acculturation context, the way acculturating youth construe the self reflects their exposure to distinct mainstream and heritage cultural expectations in different relationship contexts. As mainstream Belgian cultural contexts, schools will promote autonomous self-definitions and school teachers will expect acculturating youth to acquire the cultural skill of expressing themselves as autonomous individuals who make their own decisions and choices. In contrast, the Turkish or Moroccan heritage culture at home values more related self-expressions. In relationships with their immigrant parents, for instance, acculturating youth are expected to define themselves in terms of relatedness or affective closeness to others. In support for these, Turkish immigrant families in Belgium were found to accentuate interdependent values and parenting practices (Güngör & Bornstein, 2010) as a way to pass on to the next generation their cultural heritage and faith traditions (Güngör, Bornstein & Phalet, 2012).

Calling for effective family support programs for cultural minorities in Europe, Kağıtçıbaşı (2010) proposed that Turkish minority families and their children can be encouraged to exercise and grant autonomy without relinquishing their close relationships (see also, Kağıtçıbaşı & Otyakmaz, 2006). This raises the empirical question when and how acculturating youth from relatively collectivistic cultural backgrounds can combine culturally valued relatedness with personal autonomy. Several studies suggest that it is possible to combine relatedness with autonomy. Yamada and Singelis (1999) found that bicultural participants in Hawaii who participated in both heritage and mainstream cultural contexts scored higher on independent (or autonomous) self-scales than did those who participated only in heritage cultural contexts; at the same time, they also scored higher on interdependent (or related) self scales than did participants who participated only in mainstream cultural context (also see Lam, 2006). Similarly, Durgel, Leyendecker, Yağmurlu and Harwood (2009) reported that 'integrationist' Turkish-German mothers who engaged in both the Turkish heritage culture and the mainstream German culture, endorsed dual parenting goals of both relatedness and autonomy. In contrast, mothers who preferred not to adopt the German culture, encouraged autonomy in their children to a lesser extent. Also, Ryder et al. (2000, Study 2) found that Chinese-American university students' orientation towards the heritage culture was associated with higher scores on Singelis' (1994) interdependent (related) self scale, whereas orientation towards the European-American culture was associated with the independent (autonomous) self scale. In light of existing evidence on culture maintenance in Turkish and Moroccan immigrant families, *I hypothesized that Turkish and Moroccan minority youth in Belgium would be more related and less autonomous as compared to their Belgian majority peers*. I test this hypothesis in Study 3 with a community sample of acculturating adults and in Study 4 (cf. Chapter 4) and Study 6 (cf. Chapter 6) with school-based samples of acculturating youth[2].

[2] Throughout my PhD dissertation, the core conceptual definitions of autonomy and relatedness hold. However, depending on the relational context (with mother versus with teacher), I used slightly different definitions for autonomy. Specifically, in terms of autonomy, the definition was limited to "independent decision making", hence to "independence" in relation to teacher (Studies 1, 4, 5, and 6) in contrast to a general understanding of the "opposite of heteronomy" (in Studies 2 and 3) as this relationship is much more structured and teachers' expectations focus on students gaining autonomy in exerting school tasks. In terms of relatedness, the definition was limited to "having warm and close relationship" (Studies, 1, 4, 5 and 6) in contrast to a combination of warm close relationship combined with the inclusion of other into self (in Studies 2 and 3).

Acculturation in Relationship Contexts

Acculturation takes place in different social contexts, such as at home and in school (Deaux & Martin, 2003; Phelan, Davidson & Cao, 1991). As families and schools transmit different heritage and mainstream cultures in the context of acculturation, the self-construals of acculturating youth are best studied in specific social contexts. Experimental work on acculturation found that acculturating persons switched between different cultural frames depending on experimentally manipulated situational cues (e.g., Hong et al., 2000). Similarly, explicit acculturation attitudes or strategies were shown to be domain-specific. For instance, Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver (2003) found that Turkish-Dutch participants preferred integration more in the public domain (such as in school) while they preferred separation more in the private domain (such as in their families). In other words, acculturating persons can combine culture maintenance at home with adoption of mainstream cultural ways in their cross-cultural contacts outside the home (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2004).

Turning to relationships as the most proximal contexts of acculturation, I study domain-specific acculturation processes in two relationship contexts: with mothers and teachers. These relationships represent distinct contexts of socialization in families and schools, as well as different cultural contexts – with the Turkish-Belgian or Turkish heritage culture being more influential at home and the Belgian mainstream culture being normative in school. Minority youth relate to their teachers who represent the mainstream culture in school, as well as to their parents who transmit mainly the heritage culture at home (Raeff, Greenfield & Quiroz, 2000). For instance, Turkish minority youth are required to master the mainstream language in order to succeed in school, while Turkish is still the dominant language within Turkish immigrant families across Europe (Aarts, Extra & Yağmur, 2004). To sum up, minority youth's engagement in different relationships with mother and teachers entails their exposure to different heritage and mainstream cultures and languages.

Starting from the domain specificity of acculturation, and in line with relational differences in self-construal across cultures, I study the self-construals of acculturating youth in specific relationships with their mothers or with their teachers. On the one hand, the relationship of Turkish-Belgian minorities with their mother is informed by Turkish cultural variant of collectivism. Along those lines, there is evidence of continued or even accentuated relatedness along with restricted autonomy in the relationship of Turkish adolescents with

their immigrant parents (e.g., in Belgium: Güngör, 2008; Güngör & Bornstein, 2010; in Germany: Durgel, Leyendecker, Yagmurlu, & Harwood, 2009; in the Netherlands: Rooyackers, De Valk & Merz, 2014). On the other hand, minorities are exposed to mainstream cultural values of individualism in their relationships with Belgian teachers in school. Thus, Belgian teachers expect students to be autonomous and competent individuals (Leflot et al., 2010). Yet, they report conflicting views on how much socio-emotional support they should give to their students and how much personal responsibility they should take for this type of support (Jacobs & Struyf, 2013; Buyse et al., 2009). Since different relationship contexts at home and in school overlap with different cultures in the acculturation context, I examine how acculturating youth combine relatedness with autonomy in their relationships with mother and teachers. Specifically, I focus on the relational context with mother in Study 3 (cf. Chapter 3) and with teachers in Studies 4 and 6 (cf. Chapters 4 and 5).

Self-construals and Acculturation Attitudes. According to Berry's (2003) well-established bidimensional approach of acculturation, acculturating persons combine different acculturation attitudes towards both mainstream and heritage cultures in four ideal-typical acculturation strategies. Accordingly, "integrationists" prefer to maintain their cultural heritage as well as to adopt the mainstream culture; 'assimilationists' prefer only to adopt the mainstream culture and not to maintain their heritage culture; 'separationists' prefer only to maintain their cultural heritage without adopting mainstream culture; with a residual category of so-called 'marginalists' preferring neither maintenance nor adoption (Berry, 2003). Also depending on the wider context of migration and acculturation, with varying degrees of cultural distance and cultural continuity in immigrant communities, and with more or less welcoming intergroup relations with members of the majority cultureand related minority experiences of discrimination, acculturating persons develop different acculturation strategies (Brown & Zagefka, 2011).

In order to test whether self-construals are indeed intertwined with acculturation processes, my dissertation relates different acculturation attitudes in acculturating youth to their self-construals. Specifically, my co-authors and I examine how relatedness and autonomy are associated with self-reported attitudes towards the heritage and mainstream cultures in the context of acculturation. In addition, we explore to what extent relatedness and autonomy are experienced as conflicting motives (negative correlation) in the self-construal of acculturating persons.

As acculturating youth are engaging with the mainstream culture, this cultural context will render autonomy goals more frequently salient and self-relevant, whereas their engagement with the heritage culture will continue to foreground relatedness. Thus, *we hypothesized that Turkish minorities' attitudes toward maintaining their heritage culture would associate to relatedness while their attitudes' toward adopting the mainstream culture would associate to autonomy with mother*. Furthermore, we expect that integrationists' self-construals will combine high relatedness with high autonomy which would be enabled by typically low levels of motivational conflict between relatedness and autonomy. In contrast, we expect that both assimilationist and separationist self-construals may show more conflict: while assimilationists' self-construal is expected to prioritize autonomy at the expense of relatedness, separationists' self-construal would prioritize relatedness over autonomy. To conclude, we *hypothesized that 'integrationist' youth –i.e., those who combine positive attitudes towards both heritage culture maintenance and mainstream culture adoption, would experience the least conflict between relatedness and autonomy.* To test this set of hypothesis, Study 3 (cf. Chapter 3) examines the links between Turkish minority youngsters' attitudes towards culture maintenance and adoption and i) their motives of relatedness and autonomy in relation to mother as well as ii) the varying degrees of conflict between their relatedness and their autonomy.

Self-construals and Actual Acculturation. Looking beyond acculturation attitudes, I also examine associations between the self-construal of acculturating youth and their actual acculturation –as indicated by varying degrees of exposure to, and competence in the mainstream culture. Psychological acculturation takes place through people's exposure to, and active engagement in new or different cultures. Culture learning depends crucially, not only on acculturating persons' own attitudes, but also on actual opportunities to engage with the mainstream culture and language in their daily social contacts. Extensive research findings associate the quantity and quality of cross-cultural contact with enhanced mainstream cultural competence – as well as greater acculturation preference for mainstream culture adoption (Çelenk & Van de Vijver, 2014; Ward & Kennedy, 1994). For instance, lower levels of ethnic segregation from majority peers in school (Demanet, Agirdag & Van Houtte, 2012; Szulkin & Jonsson, 2007) and higher affiliation with majority friends predicted stronger endorsement of the mainstream culture (Mok, Morris, Benet-Martínez & Karakitapoğlu-Aygün, 2007). In my research, I empirically test how culturally diverse school environments differentially enable

or restrict actual acculturation, thereby opening the way of mastering autonomy for minority youth. Specifically, *I hypothesized that mainstream cultural exposure in schools would predict (changes towards) more autonomous self-construals in relation to school teachers among acculturating youth*. In Studies 4 and 5 with Turkish and Moroccan minority youth in Belgian schools (cf. Chapter 4), I operationalized relevant cultural exposure in terms of autonomy support by the school environments, with more autonomy support in later years of schooling, in academic educational tracks, and in less segregated schools; and I estimated cross-sectional and longitudinal associations with self-construals.

As another indicator of actual acculturation I used various measures of mainstream language mastery in acculturating youth. From a sociocultural approach of the human mind, language learning plays a pivotal role in psychological acculturation processes whenever people come into contact with new or different cultures (John-Steiner & Mahn, 1996; Vygotsky, 1987). Different languages or vocabularies have been associated with distinct sets of psychological concepts – such as emotion or person prototypes– by which speakers of a particular language make sense of themselves and their social relationships (Wierzbicka, 2004). Consequently, learning new or different languages opens up new or distinct vantage points from which speakers can understand and communicate who they are in relation to others (Dewaele, 2013).

In the migration context, learning the mainstream language is required for acculturating persons in order to become culturally competent in the mainstream culture and society. Thus, Turkish minority youth who had been socialized in the Belgian mainstream culture from an early age, such as the second generation, used Dutch language more frequently than more recent arrivals (Altınkamış & Ağırdağ, 2014). In turn, mainstream language mastery is a strong predictor of acculturation outcomes such as educational attainment (Heath, Rothon & Kilpi, 2008) as well as other aspects of acculturative adjustment (Schumann, 1986). Moreover, the mainstream language mastery of minority youth was associated with more positive acculturation attitudes towards the mainstream culture (Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder, 2006).

Looking at the acculturation of self, there is much indirect evidence of the role of second-language learning in the self-expression of acculturating persons. Thus, Dewaele (2013) investigated the psychological significance of the second language in bilinguals by means of their emotional self-expression in that language. Relative to their self-expression in the first language, the second

language is generally associated with some measure of psychological distancing or detachment. The psychological dominance of the first language is not fixed, however, as it can subside to specific relationship contexts (such as close family ties) or it can wane as bilinguals are socializing and being socialized in the second language. Thus, self-expression in the second language was enabled by naturalistic language learning in daily social interactions and by an ensuing awareness of sociocultural norms governing culture-specific speech acts.

Along those lines, I reason that minority youngsters are mastering autonomous self-construals in relation to their teachers as they are socialized into the mainstream language in school. Accordingly, different languages were found to prompt culturally congruent self-construals in biculturals. Thus, Ross, Xun and Wilson (2002) found that Chinese-Canadian bicultural students who were invited to talk in English (compared to biculturals who were invited to talk in Chinese) used more individualistic vocabularies to describe themselves. Against this backdrop, *I hypothesized that better mainstream language mastery would predict higher and increasing levels of autonomy in relation to teachers among acculturating youth.* In Studies 4 and 5 with Turkish and Moroccan minority youth in Belgian schools (cf. Chapter 4), I measured language mastery in terms of objective verbal achievement, self-reported Dutch language grades, and self-perceived Dutch language proficiency and I tested both cross-sectional and longitudinal associations with self-construal.

1.3.3 Consequences for Acculturative Adjustment

In the process of acculturation, the children of immigrants acquire "culturally appropriate skills needed to operate effectively in a specific social or cultural milieu" such as academic or social skills in various social contexts including school (Sam, Vedder, Ward, & Horenczyk, 2006; Vedder & Horenczyk, 2006). Previous research found that heritage culture maintenance and cultural collectivism values, due to the psychological importance of cultural continuity and social support within immigrant families and communities, best predict affective adjustment such as well-being and health-related outcomes for acculturating persons (Phalet & Hagendoorn, 1996; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001). Conversely, mainstream culture adoption and individualism values, which predict openness to cultural change and cross-cultural contact with members of the mainstream society, are consistently associated with competence-related outcomes such as school achievement and effective problem solving (Phalet & Hagendoorn,

1996; Ward & Kennedy, 1999;). These benefits are attributed to enhanced social and cultural skills, such as language mastery, which are required for minorities to be successful in mainstream cultural settings (Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001). Benefits of mainstream culture adoption and individualism values are contingent, however, on the presence and the support of majority cultural members (Baysu & Phalet, 2012; Demaray, Malecki, Davidson, Hodgeson, & Rebus, 2005; Elias & Haynes, 2008).

School Adjustment

School outcomes are a critical touchstone for the adjustment of acculturating minority youth because school success has long-lasting consequences for their life chances in mainstream society (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). A broad definition of school adjustment in line with several research findings suggests that the concept itself is a multifaceted one (e.g., Birch & Ladd, 1997). More specifically, school adjustment can include (but it is not limited to) students' academic achievement (e.g., Math and Language mastery) and psychosocial outcomes (e.g., Affective engagement) in school (Buyse et al., 2009). In the case of Turkish minority youth in European schools, school achievement is at times problematic, as suggested by a limited mastery of the school language and poor academic performance compared to their majority peers (Andriessen & Phalet, 2002; Motti-Stefanidi, Masten, & Asendorpf, 2014; OECD, 2012). In contrast with the school achievement findings, there is some evidence suggesting that minority students' affective adjustment is comparable to that of majority students in Europe (Sam, Vedder, Liebkind, Neto & Virta, 2008). However, recent evidence from Belgium suggests that Turkish minority students' school adjustment may be hampered by discrimination and teacher/peer victimization (Baysu, Phalet & Brown, 2014; D'hondt, Van Houtte, & Stevens, 2015). Against this background, the third and last research aim of my PhD project concerns the psychological costs and benefits of the acculturation of self for the school adjustment of minority youth. I ask how cultural differences in self-construals (i.e., relatedness and autonomy in relation to teacher) are linked to the school adjustment of Turkish minority youth as compared to majority Belgian youth.

From an educational psychology view, building good relationships, competence and autonomy are considered as major developmental tasks in school (Connell & Wellborn, 1991; Greenfield, Keller, Fuligni & Maynard, 2003). Educational and developmental research has shown that student-teacher relationships are generally important in enabling students' school adjustment (see

review Sabol & Pianta 2012; Verschueren & Koomen, 2012). Across cultures, teachers are expected to develop warm and supportive relationships with their students and such relationships play a key role in students' school adjustment. For example, Verschueren, Doumen, & Buyse (2012) found that the quality of teacher-child relationship predicted the academic self-concept of Belgian first grade students, even when controlling for their relationship with their mother in preschool and for their peer relations in first grade. Of course there can be slight cultural differences in how much relatedness is put to the foreground. For example, Belgian teachers reported conflicting views on how much socio-emotional support they need to give to their students, while Turkish teachers were found to seek and expect affective closeness in their relationship with students (Beyazkürk & Kesner, 2005; Buyse et al., 2009). However, in general, cross-cultural adaptive consequences of relatedness are extensively noted in the field: Warm relationships with teachers' help students feel that they belong in school and feel at ease and happy (Hafen et al., 2012; Pianta, Stuhlman, & Hamre 2002; Soenens & Vansteenkiste, 2005; Verschueren & Koomen, 2012). Conversely, cultural contexts were found to differ in the extent to which teachers are expected to support personal autonomy in their students. Research on Self-Determination Theory found that both teacher's autonomy support and teachers' closeness were associated with positive school-related outcomes in many Western samples (for a review cf. Davis, 2003). For instance Soenens and Vansteenkiste (2005) reported that teachers' autonomy support was predictive of students' interest to school which in turn predicted their school adjustment. In a complementary way, other research stressed the importance of teachers' relatedness with students, in terms of the need for more positively engaging relationships (Klassen, Perry & Frenzel, 2012). In relatively collectivistic cultures, on the other hand, teachers more often stress respect and conformity than autonomy and they mostly intervene at their student's (independent) decision making in their relationship with students (Cerit & Yüksel, 2015; Gürşimşek & Göregenli, 2004; Kuşdil & Kağıtçıbaşı, 2000). Thus, although students' autonomy can be still important in predicting motivation to engage in tasks in high teacher-student relatedness situations (see Bao & Lam, 2008 for the Chinese example), the expectations of conformity and respect from students are high. I reason, therefore, that the adjustment benefits of autonomy in relation to teachers may be contingent on rather individualistic cultural contexts.

What is not clear yet is whether the psychological benefits of relatedness and autonomy in relation to teacher are the same for minority youth in the context

of acculturation. The relationship with teachers is an important acculturation context which engages minority students in mainstream culture contact exposing them to mainstream cultural values and norms. Yet, this relationship context has been under-studied in existing acculturation research. Do the children of Turkish or Moroccan immigrants benefit from being related and autonomous in their relations with Belgian teachers? Existing findings suggest that relatedness is central to minority students' relationship with their teachers and school success. Compared with Dutch majority students, for instance, Turkish minority students reported more support from their teachers (Vedder, Boekaerts, & Seegers, 2005). Moreover, supportive relations with their Belgian teachers contributed to higher staying-on rates and educational attainment in Turkish minority students (Baysu & Phalet 2012). Yet, we do not know how teachers' autonomy support affects minority students' school outcomes. Thus, North American findings suggest that stressing individual autonomy negatively affected minority students' academic success as well as positive emotions (Stephens et al., 2012; Stephens, Townsend, Markus, & Phillips, 2012).

In keeping with a bidimensional view of minority acculturation (i.e., maintenance of a rather collectivist culture and adoption of a rather individualist culture), acculturation studies have documented distinct adjustment benefits of culture maintenance –such as when minority students maintain relatedness in relation to their teachers– and culture adoption –such as when minority students learn to be autonomous in relation to teachers (Stuart & Ward, 2011; Ward & Kennedy, 1994). Moreover, many studies document both affective and cognitive benefits of bicultural integration –combining culture maintenance and adoption (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013; Sam & Berry, 2010). Most acculturation studies have assessed an 'integration' mode of acculturation by relying on the self-reported acculturation attitudes or cultural identities of minority students. My research adds to this field by looking beyond acculturation attitudes proper –such as when minority students combine relatedness with autonomy in an integrated 'autonomous-related' self-construal. Bridging a cultural psychology approach with acculturation research, I focus on the adaptive consequences of relatedness, autonomy and their combination for the acculturative adjustment of minority students. Specifically, Turkish immigrant families expect their children to maintain relatedness in line with their rather collectivistic heritage culture (Güngör, 2008; Phalet & Güngör, 2009). In the school context, however, these children face mainstream cultural expectations of being autonomous (Yaman et al., 2010). In

my final empirical Study 6 (cf. Chapter 5), I test how relatedness and autonomy in relation to Belgian teachers are associated with school adjustment outcomes of Turkish minority students. To identify what is distinctive about the acculturation context, I compare Turkish minority students to their majority Belgian peers in class as a reference group. Do minority and majority students alike benefit from relatedness with their teachers? Do minority students benefit less from autonomy in relation to teachers than majority students? Do minority students benefit most when their relationship with teachers combines relatedness with autonomy?

My focus is on minority self-construals and adjustment in the acculturation context. By comparing Turkish minority and majority Belgian cultural groups I aim to elucidate what is distinctive about the self-construals of Turkish minority youth. I acknopwledge that I cannot make any direct inferences about acculturative change, however. As self-construals in the acculturation context are the product of cultural continuity as well as change, we cannot know what part of cultural differences in self-construal between minority and majority youth reflect the culture of origin (Schachner, Schiller, Van de Vijver, & Noack, 2014). Importantly, minority and majority cultures are not seen as static entities but as susceptible to cultural change, in particular in the context of acculturation.

1.4 Methodological Approach

1.4.1 Constructs and Measures

Self-construal Measures: Relatedness and Autonomy

To assess self-construal as the core construct throughout my dissertation, I distinguish between relatedness and autonomy as separate dimensions of self-construal – rather than defining and measuring 'independence' or 'interdependence' as opposite self-construals (e.g., Singelis Self-Construal Scale; Singelis, 1994; Üskül et al., 2004). While different authors have used different terminologies and measures, this conceptual distinction has been established across cultures (İmamoğlu, 1998; 2003; Kağıtçıbaşı, 2005; 2007) and it allows a more fine-grained analysis of the self-construals of acculturating youth in particular as they are simultaneously engaging with a rather collectivistic heritage culture and with an rather individualistic mainstream cultural context. Specifically, my measures are adjusted from existing autonomous and related self-scales which have been validated with student samples across Turkish, Belgian and other cultures (Güngör et al., 2011).

To assess relatedness and autonomy in the specific relationship contexts with mothers and teachers throughout my studies, I contextualized the self-scales I validated the adjusted scales in cross-cultural university student samples in Turkey and in Belgium (see Appendix I for item wordings, reliability and validity). In the migration context, I made further adjustments in order to incorporate the self-construal measures in my studies (see also Appendix). As the studies assess the self-construals of a community sample and of a large random sample of secondary school students, some sentences had to be shortened and some wordings had to be simplified due to restricted language mastery. Moreover, due to time constraints in the large-scale survey of secondary schools, only a few core indicators were selected in the questionnaires. The self-scales in the acculturation context were all administered in Dutch using a paper and pencil questionnaire in the presence of a researcher or a trained research assistant to attend any potential questions/issues.

The self-scales were validated across cultural contexts and/or across relationship contexts, either by way of clusterwise Simultaneous Component Analysis which allows a component analysis on all cultural groups at once (SCA; De Roover, Ceulemans, & Timmerman, 2012; Kiers, 1990) or – with sufficient sample sizes – in way of (more stringent) multi-group Confirmatory Factor Analysis (MCFA; Byrne & Van de Vijver, 2010; Van de Vijver & Poortinga, 2002). In multi-group models, I first tested whether a hypothesized two-factor model for relatedness and autonomy items could be confirmed in each sample or context ('configural invariance'). In the next step, I constrained factor loadings to be equal across samples or contexts in order to test factorial invariance. If the model fit was significantly worse with equality constraints, non-invariant loadings were identified and released. In some cases the scales were partially rather than fully factorially invariant, i.e., one or more item loadings were allowed to vary between samples or contexts in order to improve model fit. As a rule, all items were retained to calculate composite scores for relatedness and autonomy in view of optimal coverage of both constructs (cf. infra). In some cases, however, items with clearly and meaningfully non-equivalent meanings across samples or contexts had to be removed (See Appendix I).

Our approach implies that there are small differences between the studies included in this dissertation in terms of the coverage of relatedness and autonomy constructs. Most importantly, short autonomy measures in the acculturation context had a most restrictive meaning of 'independence' from others; and terminology was adjusted accordingly in the chapters where these studies are discussed. Also,

there were some differences between studies in the extent to which scales were balanced due to the use of reverse items, i.e., measuring separateness or distance (vs. relatedness) and measuring heteronomy or dependence (vs. autonomy) respectively. In Appendix I, I review in some more detail which measures were used in which studies.

Acculturation Measures: Attitudes and Actual Acculturation

Acculturation Attitudes. In Study 3, a cultural adaptation of Vancouver Index of Acculturation (VIA; Ryder et al., 2000) for first- and second-generation Turkish minority in Belgium (n = 71) is used to measure culture maintenance and adoption in terms of attitudes/preferences. The scale (see Table 1.1) consists of 10 items to be answered twice about daily life preferences and attitudes toward heritage and mainstream cultures; as such it extends Berry's bidimensional model of acculturation orientations (Berry et al., 2006). It also differentiates preferences in terms of social contact and values/traditions in line with a multiple-domain conceptualization of acculturation (De Leersnyder et al., 2011). Response scales range from 1= totally disagree to 7= totally agree, with higher scores indicating more Turkish contact and values/traditions preferences on the maintenance dimension and more Belgian contact and values/traditions preferences on the adoption dimension.

First, based on the bidimensional acculturation framework, a Varimax rotated Principal Components Analyses with two factors accounted for 42.68% of the total variance with Turkish maintenance (eigenvalue = 3.44) and Belgian adoption (eigenvalue = 5.02). Further PCAs on the two separate scales, yielded two factors with social contact (eigenvalue = 3.43 and 3.23) and values/traditions (eigenvalue = 1.07 and 1.12) after dropping two items of leisure time which cross-loaded on either of two factors and one item of tradition which loaded on social contact, explaining 64.21% and 62.13% of the total variance for both Turkish maintenance and Belgian adoption respectively. Reliabilities were high for preference for Turkish contact (α = .75) and values (α = .75); and for preference for Belgian contact (α = .65) and values (α = .67). An inspection of bivariate correlations between acculturation constructs and self constructs suggested that only social contact mattered for self-construals. Therefore the main analyses were conducted only with preferences for Turkish and Belgian contact.

Table 1.1

Items in English and Dutch for Acculturation Attitudes

Item - Turkish	Item - English	Item - Dutch
1. Turk gelenek, gorenek ve adetlerini genellikle uyarim. (V/T)	*1. I often participate in Turkish traditions. (V/T)*	*1. Ik neem vaak deel aan Turkse tradities, gebruiken of gewoonten. (V/T)*
2. Es olarak Belcika kulturunden birisini tercih ederim. (SC)	*2. I would be willing to marry someone of Belgian culture. (SC)*	*2. Als partner verkies ik iemand uit de Belgische cultuur. (SC)*
3. Turklerle hosca zaman gecirmeyi severim. (SC)	*3. I enjoy social activities with Turkish people. (SC)*	*3.Ik hou ervan om samen leuke dingen te doen met Turkse mensen. (SC)*
4. Belcikalilarla rahat calisirim. (SC)	*4. I am comfortable working with people from Belgian culture. (SC)*	*4.Ik voel mij op mijn gemak als ik kan samenwerken met Belgische mensen. (SC)*
5. Turkce eglenceleri severim (film, musik).	5. I enjoy Turkish entertainment	5.Ik hou van Turks entertainment (films, muziek…)
6. Siklikla "tibik bir Belcikali" gibi davranirim. (V/T)	*6. I often behave in ways that are typical of Belgian culture. (V/T)*	*6. Ik gedraag me dikwijls op een manier die kenmerkend is voor de Belgische cultuur. (V/T)*
7. Turk kulturune ozgu davranislari surdurmek ya da gelistirmek benim icin onemlidir. (V/T)	*7. It is important to me to maintain or develop Turkish cultural practices. (V/T)*	*7 Ik vind het belangrijk Turkse gewoontes te behouden of te ontwikkelen. (V/T)*
8. Yaygin belcika degerlerine inanirim. (V/T)	*8. I think I believe in mainstream Belgian values. (V/T)*	*8.Ik denk dat ik geloof in de algemene Belgische waarden. (V/T)*
9. Turklerin tipik saka ve mizah anlayislarini severim.	*9. I enjoy Turkish jokes and humour*	*9. Ik hou van de typische Turkse grapjes en humor.*
10. Belcikalilarla arkadaslik kurmayi severim. (SC)	*10. I like to make friends with Belgian people. (SC)*	*10. Ik sluit graag vriendschappen met Belgische mensen. (SC)*
11. Belcika gelenek, gorenek ve adetlerini genellikle uyarim. (V/T)	*11. I often participate in Belgian traditions. (V/T)*	*11. Ik neem vaak deel aan Belgische tradities,gebruiken of gewoonten. (V/T)*
12. Es olarak Turk kulturunden birisini tercih ederim. (SC)	*12. I would be willing to marry someone of Turkish culture. (SC)*	*12. Als partner wil ik graag iemand uit de Turkse cultuur. (SC)*
13. Belcikalilarla hos zaman gecirmeyi severim. (SC)	*13. I enjoy social activities with Belgian people. (SC)*	*13. Ik hou ervan om samen leuke dingen te doen met Belgische mensen. (SC)*

Table 1.1 (cont.d)

Items in Turkish, English and Dutch for Acculturation Attitudes

Item - Turkish	Item - English	Item - Dutch
14. Turklerle rahat calisirim. (SC)	*14. I am comfortable working with people from Turkish culture. (SC)*	*14. Ik voel mij op mijn gemak als ik kan samenwerken met Turkse mensen. (SC)*
15. Hollandaca eglenceleri severim.	*15. I enjoy Belgian entertainment*	*15. Ik hou van Belgisch entertainment (films, muziek…)*
16. Siklikla "tipik bir Turk" gibi davranirim. (V/T)	*16. I often behave in ways that are typical of Turkish culture. (V/T)*	*16. Ik gedraag me dikwijls op een manier die kenmerkend is voor de Turkse cultuur. (V/T)*
17. Belcika kulturune ozgu davranislari surdurmek ya da gelistirmek benim icin onemlidir. (V/T)	*17. It is important to me to maintain or develop Belgian cultural practices. (V/T)*	*17. Ik vind het belangrijk Belgische gewoontes te behouden of te ontwikkelen. (V/T)*
18. Turk kulturunun degerlerine inanirim. (V/T)	*18. I think I believe in mainstream Turkish values. (V/T)*	*18. Ik denk dat ik geloof in de typische Turkse waarden. (V/T)*
19. Belcikalilarin tipik saka ve mizah anlayislarini severim.	19. I enjoy Belgian jokes and humour	19. Ik hou van de typische Belgische grapjes en humor.
20. Turklerle arkadaslik kurmayi severim. (SC)	*20. I like to make friends with Turkish people. (SC)*	*20. Ik sluit graag vriendschappen met Turkse mensen. (SC)*

Note. (SC) denotes Social Contact items and (V/T) denotes Values/Traditions items.

Test achievement. Studies 4 and 5 assessed the Dutch language proficiency of large random samples of Turkish and Moroccan minority youth (N = 1353 and 409 respectively for Studies 4 and 5) in terms of an objective test of their verbal proficiency. In the absence of an existing validated and normed synonym test which could be collectively administered to a heterogeneous student population in Flanders, the Dutch Synonym Test for the CILS ('Children of Immigrants' Longitudinal Study') project in Flanders was newly constructed by Verschueren, Janssen and Magez (2012). It was based on the original synonym test from Stinissen's (1986) 'Differentiële Intelligentietest' as updated and validated in the doctoral work of Janssen and De Boeck (1994). In support of the validity of the new synonym test, test scores converged with WISC-III Vocabulary test scores (cf. master thesis Lasisi, 2015). The final selection of 30 items ranging from easy to difficult items took into account the age range and the heterogeneity of our random

samples of secondary-school students (see Table 1.2 for items in Dutch; Emonds, Meeus, Heikamp, & Meuleman, 2015). The test had a multiple-choice format for collective administration. Synonyms for the stimulus words had to be selected from five possible alternatives. Before taking the Dutch Synonym test, students received instructions from trained research assistants and were allowed one trial. Next, they were given ten minutes to fill out the 30 test items. The test was reliable for both Turkish ($\alpha = .71$) and Moroccan ($\alpha = .76$) minority youth in my studies.

Table 1.2

Synonym Test

1. hoeve	☐ stal	☐ boerderij	☐ dier	☐ huis
2. keu	☐ tafel	☐ krijt	☐ bal	☐ biljartstok
3. bochtig	☐ kronkelend	☐ gevaarlijk	☐ rond	☐ landweg
4. grauw	☐ donker	☐ vuil	☐ grijs	☐ snel
5. abnormaal	☐ gewoon	☐ afwijkend	☐ triestig	☐ ziekte
6. misverstand	☐ vergissing	☐ verkeerd	☐ grap	☐ onduidelijk
7. afkeer	☐ verboden	☐ weigering	☐ smaak	☐ tegenzin
8. verdrag	☐ geschiedenis	☐ oorlog	☐ regering	☐ overeenkomst
9. centrum	☐ middelpunt	☐ stad	☐ winkels	☐ omgeving
10. nauwkeurig	☐ juist	☐ precies	☐ streng	☐ nakijken
11. deelnemen	☐ inschrijven	☐ winnen	☐ meedoen	☐ spelen
12. opdoeken	☐ afschaffen	☐ dekken	☐ vinden	☐ opsmukken
13. misleiden	☐ plagen	☐ verraden	☐ verwijzen	☐ bedriegen
14. wijzigen	☐ verwisselen	☐ aanduiden	☐ veranderen	☐ vernieuwen
15. domineren	☐ preken	☐ overheersen	☐ winnen	☐ spelen
16. opteren	☐ wensen	☐ bekijken	☐ zoeken	☐ kiezen
17. energie	☐ kracht	☐ element	☐ sterk	☐ springstof
18. restauratie	☐ eethuis	☐ gebouw	☐ herstelling	☐ werken
19. promotie	☐ bevordering	☐ voorspelling	☐ voorrecht	☐ beweging
20. imiteren	☐ uitwijken	☐ verhuizen	☐ uitnodigen	☐ nabootsen
21. ingrediënt	☐ koken	☐ bestanddeel	☐ deling	☐ recept
22. complot	☐ overeenkomt	☐ vergadering	☐ verraad	☐ samenzwering
23. dupe	☐ slachtoffer	☐ put	☐ depressie	☐ zwak
24. budget	☐ geldbeugel	☐ regering	☐ begroting	☐ rijkdom
25. consumeren	☐ verbruiken	☐ optellen	☐ verkopen	☐ vaststellen
26. pseudoniem	☐ schrijver	☐ boek	☐ synoniem	☐ schuilnaam
27. urgent	☐ dringend	☐ snel	☐ noodzakelijk	☐ ziekenwagen
28. erkentelijk	☐ beroemd	☐ belangrijk	☐ vriendelijk	☐ dankbaar
29. omstreden	☐ betwist	☐ ruzie	☐ besproken	☐ belangrijk
30. zege	☐ goedkeuring	☐ overwinning	☐ prijs	☐ oorlog

In Study 6 I assessed the non-verbal cognitive achievement of Turkish minority youth and their Belgian majority classmates as a control variable. To this end, I used a short form of a non-verbal cognitive test of inductive reasoning in the CILS project for Flanders. This test was based on the inductive reasoning subtest from Cattell's Intelligence Test (Cattell & Cattell, 1961). The test was reduced in length selecting a reasonable range of easy to difficult items in light of the age and the heterogeneity of the student samples by the international CILS4EU project team (Kalter at al., 2016). It was collectively administered in class and preceded by instructions from trained research assistants and an example (see for full items, Coşkan, Emonds, Meeus, Meuleman, & Phalet, 2012). Students were given ten minutes to solve 27 items which were presented in order of increasing difficulty. The raw test score is formed as the sum of correctly solved tasks with a range from 0 to 27.

Self-reported Language Proficiency. In Study 4, in addition to the objective Dutch achievement, I measured self-report measures to assess subjective language proficiency.

First, as a self-report measure of Dutch proficiency, minority and majority youth reported their language proficiency as part of a longer paper and pencil questionnaire about their cultural background and school adjustment which was collectively administered in class in the presence of trained research assistants (sessions of 30 to 40 minutes in total). This was a composite index based on participants' ratings of how well they thought they could i) understand, ii) speak, iii) read, iv) write Dutch from 1 = not well at all up to 5 = perfectly. In order to account for the possibility of stereotype threat linked to cultural background (Celeste, Baysu, Phalet, & Brown, 2015), the order of tests and self-report questions was randomized at the school level. The self-reported Dutch proficiency index had a high internal reliability for both Turkish ($\alpha = .94$) and Moroccan ($\alpha = .95$) minority youth in Study 4.

Second, Turkish and Moroccan minority youth in Study 4 ($N = 1353$) reported their Dutch language grades (66% missing) on the last grade sheet they had received from their school preceding the survey. As schools differed in their grading system, I transformed participants' self-reported grades into a five-point scale in Study 4. In Study 6 again, I used the self-reported Dutch language grades (28% missing) of $N = 576$ Turkish minority youth and N = 1863 majority Belgian students as a dependent measure of school success. In this study, the grades were rescaled from 0 to 100 to better account for the spreading of grades as an outcome.

Lastly, Turkish and Moroccan minority students (N = 1353) in Study 4 also reported their mastery of the heritage cultural languages spoken at home (Turkish or Arabic). Thus, they rated how well they thought they could i) understand, ii) speak, iii) read, iv) write Turkish or Arabic/Amazigh (Berber) from 1 = not well at all to 5 = perfectly. This self-report measure of heritage language proficiency showed a high internal reliability for both Turkish (α = .93) and Moroccan (α = .85) students in my studies.

School Adjustment Measure

Emotional Engagement. In Study 6, in order to measure Turkish minority (N = 561) and Belgian (N = 1807) majority youth's Emotional Engagement with school and learning, I used the Emotional Engagement (Wang, Willett, & Eccles, 2011) scale which consisted of six items: Four items measured affective ties with their school, including three items (Table 1.3, item marked with *) from the School Belonging Scale (Wang et al., 2011) and one item (Table 1.3, item marked with **) from Goodenow's (1993) Psychological Sense of School Membership scale. Two items (Table 1.3, item marked with ***) measured affective engagement in class from the emotional subscale of the Engagement versus Disaffection with Learning (EvsD) questionnaire (Skinner, Furrer, Marchand, & Kindermann, 2008; Skinner, Kindermann, & Furrer, 2009). All items were rated on five-point Likert-type scales (from t*otally disagree to totally agree*). Internal consistencies were high in both cultural groups (α = .85 and .86 for minority Turkish minority and majority Belgian youth respectively).

Table 1.3

Items of Emotional Engagement Scale

English	Dutch
I am proud to be a student of this school.*	Ik ben fier dat ik leerling ben van deze school.**
I would recommend this school to other young people. **	Ik zou deze school aanraden aan andere jongeren. **
I feel happy at this school. **	Ik voel me gelukkig in deze school. **
I feel at home at this school. **	Ik voel me thuis in deze school. **
I feel good in class. **	In de klas voel ik me goed. **
I like to be in class. **	Ik vind het leuk om in de klas te zijn. ***

1.4.2 Cultural Contexts, Samples and Comparative Design

Cultural Contexts

My research focuses on comparative perspectives from Turkey and Belgium as instances of relatively collectivistic and individualistic cultures respectively. These cultures have been much less studied than North-American and East-Asian cultures (Markus & Kitayama, 2003), so we briefly describe these cultural contexts below to give a better sense of how they differ.

Turkey is geographically and historically bridging between European and Asian cultural influences and regions. While Turkey is a majority Muslim country, Turkish culture is a rich mosaic of Turkish, Persian, Arab, European and American cultural elements which have accumulated over many centuries. Turkey today has been characterized as a transitional culture where cultural variant of collectivism meshes with globalization (İmamoğlu, 1998; Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996). Differential penetration of global cultural contact across middle and working classes and across urban and rural parts of Turkey is reflected in a notable cultural gap between urban and rural areas. In urban Turkey, Turkish youth are exposed to strong individualistic pressures in their studies and work life while urban Turkish families are characterized by psychological interdependence, combining strong emotional relatedness with significant individual autonomy. Conversely in rural areas, more material forms of interdependence within traditional families leave little room for personal autonomy – which can be seen to pose a threat to family relatedness (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1982). In my studies, I collected data from student samples in Turkish cities (İstanbul, İzmir and Ankara) who are typically balancing relatedness with significant personal autonomy in their relationships with parents and teachers.

Belgium as a country consists of three separate linguistic groups (Flemish community in Flanders, French community in Wallonia and German community in the East Cantons) within three semi-autonomous regions (Flanders, Wallonia and Brussels). It has attracted major streams of mainly immigrant workers especially after World War II – with increasing streams of Turkish and Moroccan ‘guest workers’ coming from across the Mediterranean since the 1960s and 1970s (Phalet & Swyngedouw, 2003). Belgium exemplifies a North-West European variant of individualism which combines core cultural values of intellectual and affective autonomy with significant relatedness so that most people maintain close and enduring family and friendship ties as critical parts of their social life and self (Boiger et al., 2013; Schwartz & Ross, 1995). In my studies, I draw on samples

from several cities of Flanders-Belgium including Gent, Antwerp and Brussels, where many Turkish and Moroccan immigrant families have settled.

Immigration in Belgium, like in other North-West European countries, is a highly contentious political issue – as evident from widespread ambivalent or negative attitudes towards immigrants in general and Muslims in particular (Phalet & Swyngedouw, 2003). Turkish and Moroccan immigrant communities in Belgium make up the most numerous and most persistently disadvantaged minority populations from outside Western Europe. Both minority groups have a long history of mainly labor migration which goes back to bilateral agreements with Turkey and Morocco as sending countries in the 1960s (Reniers, 1999). First generation Turkish immigrants came mainly from rural areas in Turkey with little or no formal education; hence they brought along their traditional Turkish culture (Phalet & Güngör, 2013). They preserve close family ties with local communities back home. Compared to majority Belgian children, the children of Turkish and Moroccan immigrant workers are less likely to obtain higher qualifications and have restricted access to more stable and well-paid jobs; while they are also more at risk of early school leaving and of enduring unemployment or economic inactivity (OECD 2008; FOD Werkgelegenheid, Arbeid en Sociaal Overleg, 2009; Heath, Rothon & Kilpi, 2008). Moreover, as Muslim minorities they are facing pervasive prejudice and discrimination in many domains of life (Alanya, Swyngedouw, Vandezande & Phalet, 2014; Van Acker, 2012).

For my studies, I use survey data from a community sample of adult Turkish minority members in Gent. In addition I contributed to, and made use of, large-scale school-based surveys of Turkish, Moroccan and other minority youth and their majority Belgian classmates as part of the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey (CILS) in Flanders-Belgium (technical report; cf. Emonds et al., 2015). This survey was modelled on the international CILS4EU surveys (CILS4EU, 2016).

Samples and Comparative Design

Within the comparative research framework of cultural psychology, my studies seek to elaborate on the differences on the roles of self-construals in different cultural contexts (cf. Kitayama, Duffy, & Cohen, 2007). To this aim I collected data from 3 different cultural groups, monocultural Turkish and Belgian samples and minority samples in Belgium. My studies compare across cultures drawing on different samples also varying in socio-economic status, gender and

age. Given that the definition of self is a dynamic, ever-changing one, by collecting data from different populations, such as student samples versus community samples, university students versus secondary school students, I aimed to increase ecological validity of my research findings.

In Study 1, I worked with monocultural young adolescents from Turkish and Belgian universities to establish a reliable, valid and equivalent measure of self-construals across cultures and relationships as well as to confirm cultural differences and get insight on relational differences on self-construals. University samples are generally seen as convenient samples; however, in our case, Turkish university students are of specific value since it is now an established finding that generation, socio-economic status and globalization are all factors which play important roles in shaping different degrees of autonomy in Turkish samples (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2007). To increase ecological validity, I collected data from 3 major cities of Turkey (İstanbul, İzmir and Ankara) from both state and private universities' first year psychology students (hence, they were less acquainted with psychological research questions and designs). In Belgium, I collected data from psychology students at the University of Leuven.

In Studies 2 and 3, we focused on young monocultural adults in university as well as on Belgian and Turkish-Belgian middle-aged adults from Belgium community. Study 2 is based on student sample reached from İzmir and Leuven. İzmir is known to be one of the most 'Westernized' cities of Turkey. The University of Leuven provides an international environment in which Belgian students interact with students from many different countries. Study 3 is based on a community sample from Gent, it included first and second generation Turkish minority as well as Belgian majority participants.

In Studies 4, 5, and 6, I used subsets of large data collected from adolescents in Belgium. The large data was collected due to the Belgian branch of an international study (CILS4EU) named Leuven Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS; Emonds et al., 2015). CILS was conducted in line with the international sampling design in the schools of Flanders-Belgium. Specifically, a stratified sampling strategy was applied with the students nested in classes and classes nested in schools. In line with the international CILS4EU sampling frame, the school-based stratified random sampling design required a disproportionate selection of schools with higher proportions of immigrant origin students based on the administrative information on foreign languages spoken at home. Both explicit and implicit stratifiers were used to sample the schools.

The explicit stratifier was the estimated proportion of minority students per school: the first stratum consisted of schools with 0-10% minority students, the second stratum consisted of schools with 10-30% minority students, the third stratum consisted of schools with 30-60% minority students, and the fourth stratum consisted of schools with 60-100% minority students (See Table 1.4). As the sampling strategy, schools were equally sampled in each stratum. Implicit stratifiers included the school type (free versus public schools), and the Turkish minority percentage in the municipality (applied only the first and second stratum schools for oversampling).

The Belgian school system for the secondary education is structured in a way that students get a relatively comprehensive educational programme in their first two years and they are fully stratified in different educational tracks (distinguishing between academic (ASO), technical and arts (TSO and KSO) and vocational tracks (BSO) from their third year onwards. In their first two years, they receive limited formal tracking in an A and B track (leading to academic vs. vocational training respectively; also see Eurydice, 2010). In total, 158 schools (including the replacement schools) were targeted to increase representativeness as defined by stratifiers as well as the Belgian school system and to lower school-level non-response. At the end of the first wave data collection, more than 70 schools and almost 5.000 students aged between 14 and 16 had participated in CILS. The schools were equally distributed over the four ethnic stratum. On the class level 2-3 classes per year were randomly chosen to have on average 40 to 60 students per education year in each school. As such, CILS data provides a highly representative data for Flanders, Belgium.

In CILS, participants are followed cross-sequentially over three years; in other words, they are followed yearly over time in an accelerated longitudinal three wave design. The first wave data collection was accomplished in two consecutive years. In my PhD work I only use data from the first two waves. Specifically, I used data from adolescent (Turkish and Moroccan) minority and majority (Belgian) participants from the CILS large panel data. In Study 4, I use a subset of the first wave dataset collected in two consecutive years; my subset includes Turkish (n = 623) and Moroccan minority (n = 731) students. In Study 5, I use the first wave data collected in the first year and the second wave data which resulted in a much smaller sample. Minority students frequently change schools due to low school success or drop-out. Given the difficult follow up and the lack of administrative information on students' track changes, few Turkish (n = 193)

and Moroccan (n = 216) minority students have been followed up in the second wave. Finally, in Study 6, I used the first wave data collected in the first year from Turkish minority youth (n = 576) and Belgian majority youth (n = 1863) as the comparison group the first wave data collected in two consecutive years (see Table 1.4).

The CILS data are unique for the purpose of my dissertation as they provide extensive information on the school structure (e.g. cultural exposure), school life and language proficiencies of minority group and majority comparison sample. They also provide measures of autonomous and related selves as well as school related outcomes. Hence, for my PhD work, CILS data provides individual level variables within a multilevel framework. CILS data is also strong in the sense that its cross-sequential nature allows me not only to test associations between self and school adjustment of minority and majority students but also to investigate longitudinal effects of the Belgian school culture on how minority students express themselves.

Table 1.4 *Response rates at the school and individual level for Wave 1 and 2 of CILS Flanders*

Ethnic stratum	Schools contacted / Schools participated (students participated)		Response rate (School level)		Response rate (Student level)	
	Wave 1	**Wave 2**	**Wave 1**	**Wave 2**	**Wave 1**	**Wave 2**
1 (0-10%)	42 /17 (1334)	19/16 (1007)	40.5%	(84%)	91.7%	80.5%
2 (10-30%)	45/18 (1295)	20/18 (1065)	40%	(90%)	89%	93.4%
3 (30-60%)	49/20 (1467)	21/19 (1036)	41.8%	(90.5%)	94.4%	88.1%
4 (>60%)	22/15 (1240)	16/14 (1044)	68.2%	(87.5%)	80.9%	79.9%
Total	158/70 (5336)	76/67 (4152)	44.3%	(88.2%)	89%	85.2%

1.5 Chapter Overview

The empirical part of my dissertation consists of 6 studies (Chapters 2-5) that each address the three research aims (see Figure 1.1).

In Study 1 (cf. Chapter 2), I present a cross-cultural study comparing

Turkish and Belgian university students' self-construals in two different relationship contexts, with mother and with teacher in order to establish the cultural differences long-held in the relevant literature as well as to show how relationships are in interplay with cultural contexts in the way we define ourselves as autonomous and related in differing degrees. At the group level, we tested for cultural and relational differences in the mean levels of relatedness and autonomy.

In Studies 2 and 3 (cf. Chapter 3) my co-authors and I look into selves of Turkish minority members in Belgium. In Study 2, we investigate levels and associations of relatedness and autonomy in relation to their mother. We took one more step to describe Turkish and Belgian students' self-construals in relation to their mother by looking at the associations between relatedness and autonomy as well as their mean levels. We again compared mean scores of autonomy and relatedness and we calculated and compared the bivariate correlations between relatedness and autonomy for both groups. In Study 3, we started to explore Turkish minority self-construals in a community sample containing second and third generation minorities from rural Turkey. As we did for Turkish students from Turkey and Belgian students from Belgium, we compared Turkish minority and Belgian majority selves in terms of relatedness and autonomy levels as well as associations. Most importantly, we investigated how minority's self-construals were linked to their acculturation attitudes and we profiled acculturation strategies according to Turkish minority's relatedness and autonomy.

Study 4 (cf. Chapter 4) encompass Turkish and Moroccan minority youth (n = 1354) from the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study of Leuven. We aimed to investigate the cultural exposure (structural as well as language related) antecedents of autonomy in the context of acculturation. Specifically we tested whether being in a school with more majority peers, staying in the school system (as reflected in educational year), being on academic track and having Dutch language mastery are linked to increased autonomy in relation to Belgian teachers. In Study 5 (cf. Chapter 4) we followed up 419 Turkish and Moroccan minority youth from the previous year and we tested the ongoing effect of these cultural exposure indices and Dutch mastery.

Lastly, in Study 6 (cf. Chapter 5) I compare Turkish minority and majority Belgian youth's relatedness and autonomy in relation to their teacher and I show cross-cultural and culture specific ways relatedness and autonomy (as well as their combination) can support adaptive outcomes in school.

Chapter 2, 3, 4 and 5 can be read as standalone research articles. In Chapter

6, I give a summary of all chapters and provide a discussion of my findings. In Study 1, I aim to establish distinct self-construals in different cultural contexts, in Studies 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 I aim to describe and explain Turkish (and Moroccan) minority self-construals in acculturation contexts, and in Study 6, I aim to provide the role of relatedness and autonomy as well as their combination for minority school adjustment.

CHAPTER 2

Relationship Context Matters: Cultural Differences in Self-Construals Revisited

This chapter is based on:

Coşkan, C., Phalet, K., Güngör, D., & Mesquita, B. (2016). Relationship Context Matters: Cultural Differences in Self-Construals Revisited. *Cross-Cultural Research, 50*(1), 63-84.

2.1 Introduction

Self-construals are ways in which individuals define themselves and make meaning of previous and new experiences (Baumeister, 1998; Markus, 1977). Self-construals vary across cultures, because cultural contexts provide different opportunities for engagement, and thus, different opportunities to experience the self (Kitayama, Duffy, & Uchida, 2007; Markus & Hamedani, 2007; Markus & Kitayama, 2003; Markus, Mullally & Kitayama, 1997). In North American contexts, individuals come to see themselves as separate from others and unique because the cultural practices in which they engage (sleeping separately, being praised by others) cast them as unique and separate; in Japanese contexts, individuals come to see themselves as connected, because they engage in practices calling for connection and adjustment (co-sleeping, self-criticism and acceptance by others). The idea is very close to early symbolic interactionist notions of self (Cooley, 1922; Mead, 1934): We are who we are, because our social environment makes us so. The difference is that early symbolic interactionist theories proposed that our selves mirror the evaluations and judgments of others, whereas contemporary sociocultural theories emphasize how individuals' engagement in social interactions and collective practices affords and constrains our self-construal.

An individual's engagement in interactions is not only facilitated by his/her cultural environment at large, but also by the particular relationship contexts. Given that each type of relationship is associated with different experiences, we propose that individuals may construe themselves differently depending on the particular relational context of engagement. Moreover, there are cultural differences in habitual interactions and relationships, so that the ways to experience the self in a particular relationship (e.g., with the mother) may differ cross-culturally. This has an important, and so far unexplored implication for cross-cultural research on self-construal: It may be more productive to cross-culturally compare the self-construals associated with particular relationship contexts than to assume that self-construal is a monolithic concept or trait within each culture.

In the current study, we map cultural variation in the self-construals of Belgian and Turkish young adults in two relational contexts; namely in relationship with the mother and the teacher respectively. We expect that mapping variations in self-construal by relational context, will paint a more nuanced picture of cultural differences than can be obtained by only looking at the aggregated differences in self-construal.

Autonomy and Relatedness

Initial cross-cultural approaches to self described cultures in terms of either independent or interdependent selves (e.g., Markus & Kitayama, 1991). However, it is probably more accurate to conceptualize the cultural differences in self-construals in terms of the *relative* focus on autonomy and relatedness respectively (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2005). The latter conceptualization acknowledges that people across the world define themselves in terms of both autonomy and relatedness (see also Ryan & Deci, 2000), and allows for more nuanced cultural differences in self-construal, as described on both dimensions. A number of studies have shown that self-construals in different cultures vary with respect to the relative levels of both autonomy and relatedness (Georgas, Berry, Van de Vijver, & Kağıtçıbaşı, 2006; Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2008).

In the current study, we focused on Belgian and Turkish cultural contexts, because these cultures differ with respect to prevalent self-construals: Belgian student samples have been found to be more autonomous and less related than their Turkish counterparts (Güngör & Phalet, 2011). These findings converge with research comparing preferred family models in German and Turkish cultural contexts; Germany is a country neighboring to Belgium. Whereas German mother-child dyads preferred autonomy in the family, urban Turkish mother-child dyads preferred family models that focus equally on autonomy and relatedness —the so called "emotional interdependent family model" (Mayer, Trommsdorff, Kağıtçıbaşı, & Mishra, 2012). Autonomy and relatedness findings also converge with characterizations of Belgian contexts as rather individualist and Turkish contexts as rather collectivist (Güngör & Bornstein, 2010; Kitayama, Park, Sevincer, Karasawa, & Üskül, 2009; Phalet & Claeys, 1993).

Situated self-construals

Evidence for situated self-construals comes from several studies showing that people in fact construe the self differently depending on the relationship or activity concerned (Andersen & Chen, 2002; Chen, Boucher, & Tapias, 2006; McConnell, 2011; Neff & Harter, 2003). For instance, in one study American college students were asked to rate themselves in terms of autonomy and connectedness. Self-ratings differed for their relationship with their mother, their father, their best friends and their romantic partners (Neff & Harter, 2003): Students rated themselves as more autonomous than related in their relationship with their parents, but this was not the case for their relationships with either friends or

romantic partners; in romantic relationships, students described themselves even as more related than autonomous. This and other studies suggest that individuals' self-construals differ in ways that fit the specific relational contexts, even within American cultural contexts (Markus & Cross, 1990).

Cross-cultural research on self-construals has found self-construals in East Asian contexts to be even more context-bound than self-construals in North American contexts. Although none of these studies measure self-construal in terms of autonomy and relatedness, they converge on the conclusion that East Asians need the context to be able to describe themselves in trait-like terms, whereas North Americans less require such contexts (Cousins, 1989; English & Chen, 2007; Kanagawa, Cross, & Markus, 2001; Suh, 2002). The notion that self-construal may be contextualized thus appears cross-culturally valid.

Self-construals in relationship with Mother and Teacher

In the current research, we compare Belgian and Turkish self-construals in two relationship contexts: the relationship with the mother and that with the teacher. These relationship contexts were chosen, because they are universally significant, and they represent major socializing contexts for self (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2007; Keller, 2003). Judging from the scarce literature available on these contexts, we expected cultural differences in self-construals to be more pronounced in the teacher than in the mother context.

Mother context. Self-report studies of Belgian and Turkish adolescents and young adults suggest that self-construals in the mother context might be both autonomous and related. Belgian adolescents rated their relationships with their parents as even more connected than agentic (Beyers, Goossens, Vansant, & Moors, 2003). Similarly, in another study, Belgian college students indicated that they wished to stay in close connection with their parents even though they wanted/needed to become independent (Kins, De Mol, & Beyers, 2014). Relative to their peers from other individualistically oriented cultures, Belgian adolescents and young adults may be more related with the mother. For instance, in a cross-cultural study, Belgian adolescents rated themselves as closer to their mothers than their Canadian counterparts (Claes, 1998).

Just like their Belgian counterparts, Turkish adolescents in urbanized settings described their relationship with their mother in terms of both autonomy and relatedness (Imamoğlu & Karakitapoğlu-Aygün, 2004; Kağıtçıbaşı & Ataca, 2005). A general observation is that young family members in Turkish urbanized

settings strive for autonomy while they also preserve warm and supportive family ties (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2007). Drawing from all these different studies, we hypothesize that, across Belgian and Turkish urbanized settings, both autonomy and relatedness are important aspects of the self in the relationship with the mother. Despite characterizations of Belgian culture as rather individualist and Turkish culture as rather collectivist, we did not predict any differences for the mother context.

Teacher context. Much less is known about self-construals in teacher contexts. It seems likely that, across cultures, teachers will expect that student learning comes with some degree of autonomy; students should be task-oriented, in addition to relationship-oriented (e.g., Pianta, Nimetz, & Bennett, 1997). Thus, we would expect that the relationship with the teacher affords higher levels of autonomy than with the mother; and this would be true both in the Belgian and the Turkish context. Autonomy, as well as teachers' autonomy support, benefits Belgian students' test performance (Vansteenkiste, Simons, Lens, Sheldon, & Deci, 2004). In addition, some degree of relatedness (warmth) is known to be beneficial to Belgian teacher-student relationships (Verschueren & Koomen, 2012).

However, several findings suggest that relatedness with teachers is particularly important in the Turkish context. Turkish teachers emphasize their relationship with their students more than teachers in some individualistically oriented cultures: In a cross-cultural study, they reported less conflict and more closeness to their pupils than their American counterparts (Beyazkürk & Kesner, 2005). Moreover, Turkish students' school belonging was predicted more by perceived relationship quality with teachers than by the perceived quality of other aspects of the school environment, such as control (the opposite of autonomy) (Cemalcılar, 2010). This too suggests that relatedness is an important defining dimension of Turkish students' self-concept in the relationship with the teacher.

Taking these findings together, we expected Belgian youth to report higher levels of autonomy in relationship to their teachers than their Turkish counterparts, and we expected Turkish youth to report high levels of relatedness than their Belgian peers.

The current study

In sum, we examined the levels of autonomy and relatedness in two cultural contexts, a Belgian and Turkish one, across two relationship contexts, the mother and the teacher context. We explored whether the degree of cultural

difference was variable across relationship contexts. First, we hypothesized higher levels of autonomy and lower levels of relatedness in the self-construals of Belgian (vs. Turkish) university students. Second, we hypothesized no cultural differences in self-construal for the mother context. Finally, for the teacher context only, we expected Belgian self-construals to be higher on autonomy and lower on relatedness than Turkish self-construals.

The current study contributes a situated approach to the research on cross-cultural differences in self-construals. It also offers insights into two relationship contexts –the mother and the teacher context– across two different cultural contexts. Finally, we contribute to cross-cultural research generally by including two cultures not typically studied, and thus extending our knowledge base beyond the traditional East-West comparisons.

2.2 Method

Participants

Participants were 276 Belgian psychology undergraduate students (University of Leuven) and 153 Turkish social sciences (İzmir University, Marmara University, and Middle East Technical University). Belgian students (M = 18.12 years, SD = 2.05) were slightly younger than Turkish students (M = 19.64, SD = 2.21), $F(1, 435) = 52.013$, $p < .001$) but gender distributions were similar (80% and 73% female, respectively). Students also reported their income situation and the level of education of their mothers. The majority of Belgian and Turkish students were still financially dependent on their families, $\chi^2(2, N = 438) = 2.125$, $p = .346$. Belgian and Turkish mothers differed with respect to their educational levels, $\chi^2(2, N = 438) = 133.626$, $p < .001$; more than half of the Belgian mothers finished a tertiary education while almost half of the Turkish mothers had no/primary education.

Procedure

Participants received either the mother or the teacher version of the questionnaire; in each session, the questionnaires were taken from a randomly mixed stack of mother and teacher questionnaires. In the teacher version of the questionnaire, students were asked to describe themselves in relation with their main teacher from the previous year. All participants answered some demographic questions. Questionnaires were developed in Turkish; they were translated from Turkish to Dutch, and back-translated to Turkish using the *successive development*

method (Van de Vijver & Poortinga, 1997). Belgian and Turkish participants completed Dutch and Turkish questionnaires respectively.

Both Belgian and Turkish students completed the questionnaires during class time; the Belgian students received course credit. In both countries, a research team was present to inform the participants about the general purpose of the study and to answer questions. Confidentiality and anonymity was ensured. Completion of the questionnaire took approximately 20 minutes.

Measures

Autonomy and relatedness

Autonomy was measured by three items that were adopted from a scale developed by Güngör and Phalet and validated for both Belgian and Turkish samples (e.g. "I can plan my future without my mother/teacher's guidance"; Güngör & Phalet, 2011) and three other items adopted from a scale of autonomy in pupil-teacher relationships that was developed in the Belgian context (e.g., "I usually find it comforting if my mother/teacher chooses in my place what is good for me",reversed item).

Relatedness was measured by six items derived from the relatedness scale developed by Güngör and Phalet (2011) (e.g. "My relationship with my mother/teacher was an important part of who I am"). Both autonomy and relatedness items were rated on a 7-point Likert-type scales (1 = *Totally disagree*; 7 = *Totally agree*). For the current research, all original items were re-written to pertain specifically to the relationship with the mother/teacher (for a full list of items, see Table 2.1[3]).

To establish the equivalence of the autonomy and relatedness scales across cultures and relationship contexts, we used multi-group Confirmatory Factor Analysis (MCFA, Byrne & Van de Vijver, 2010). In a first step, we found configural equivalence: $\chi^2(212) = 445.806$, $p < .001$; CFI = .87; RMSEA = .05, SRMR = .06. This means that the 6 autonomy items loaded for both cultures and relationship contexts on an autonomy factor; and that the 6 relatedness items loaded on a relatedness factor. Next, we imposed equality constraints on all factor loadings to test metric equivalence. While full metric equivalence was rejected, $\chi^2(242) = 496.366$, $p < .001$; CFI = .86; RMSEA = .05, SRMR = .07; $\Delta\chi^2(30) = 50.561$, $p = .01$, a partially equivalent model showed acceptable fit according to the criteria suggested by Hu and Bentler (1999), $\chi^2(233) = 475.201$, $p < .001$;

[3] Turkish and Dutch translations of the English items are provided in Table A1 in Appendix I.

CFI = .87; RMSEA = .05, SRMR = .07; $\Delta\chi^2(21) = 29.395$, $p = .11$. Based on this model, we constructed autonomy and relatedness scales[4]; the correlations between Autonomy and Relatedness was -.35 ($p < .001$), -.37 ($p < .001$), -.35 ($p = .001$), -.27 ($p = .01$) respectively for Belgians in relation with their mother, and their teacher, and Turks in relation with their mother and their teacher groups (see *Table 2.1*).

[4] The current chapter reports analyses and findings based on the complete 6-item scales in view of optimal conceptual coverage (a) in order to obtain results that are comparable with other, relevant studies; and (b) because the findings did not change when we used the full scale. After excluding the 3 non-invariant items from the scales (see Table A4 in Appendix I), main findings reported in this chapter were fully replicated (see Appendix II).

Table 2.1

Items of the Autonomy and Relatedness Scales and Unstandardized Parameter Estimates

Latent factors	Indicators	Parameter Estimates (Standard Errors)	
Autonomy	I am usually afraid of deciding on my personal issues without consulting my mother/teacher. (-)	1.00	–
(α = .74) (Inter-item correlation range: .24 - .45)	I can plan my future without my mother/ teacher's guidance.	.69	(.07)***
	I usually find it comforting if my mother/ teacher chooses in my place what is good for me. (-)	.89	(.09)***
	I would prefer if my mother/teacher tells me precisely how I should do everything. (-)	.81 1.34 .68 1.03	(.10)*** (BM) (.16)*** (BT) (.18)*** (TM) (.18)*** (TT)
	When I am given a new responsibility, I need my mother/teacher to tell me what I have to do. (-)	1.08 1.27 1.00 1.25	(.14)*** (BM) (.15)*** (BT) (.27)*** (TM) (.20)*** (TT)
	I set my own standards and goals for myself rather than my mother/teacher's.	.52	(.06)***
Relatedness	My relationship with my mother/teacher was an important part of who I am	.89	(.05)***
(α = .88) (Inter-item correlation range: .42 - .73)	When I feel sad I usually like to talk about it with my mother/teacher.	1.00	–
	Most of the time I would spend time alone rather than spending time with my mother/ teacher. (-)	.61	(.06)***
	I am seldom occupied with the feelings and experiences of my mother/teacher. (-)	.50	(.05)***
	I do not share personal issues with my mother/teacher. (-)	.96 1.10 1.52 1.31	(.08)*** (BM) (.09)*** (BT) (.20)*** (TM) (.23)*** (TT)
	I prefer to keep a certain distance in my relationship with my mother/teacher. (-)	.80	(.05)***

Note. (-) Reverse coded items. ***$p < .001$.
BM= Belgians with their mother; BT= Belgians with their teacher; TM= Turkish with their mother; TT= Turkish with their teacher.

2.3 Results

Cultural differences in self-construals

To test the cultural differences in the levels of autonomy and relatedness, we conducted multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) on self-orientations (autonomy, relatedness) with cultures (Belgian, Turkish) and relationship contexts (mother, teacher) as between-subjects factors (See Table 2.2). We controlled for gender and age because in some cases they associated with autonomy or relatedness (See Table 2.3 for correlations between study variables). There were differences in the use of response scales across cultural groups and relationship contexts, $F(3, 442) = 44.81$, $p < .001$. This response tendency, combined with the failure to find full scalar equivalence, led us to group mean center autonomy and relatedness scores by culture before conducting group comparisons (Meuleman & Billiet, 2011; Fischer, 2004). As hypothesized, Belgians rated themselves as more autonomous than Turks ($M_{Belgians} = 5.37$, $SD_{Belgians} = 1.07$ vs. $M_{Turkish} = 5.08$, $SD_{Turkish} = 1.10$), $F(1, 421) = 9.40$, $p = .002$, $\eta^2 = .02$, and less related ($M_{Belgians} = 4.24$, $SD_{Belgians} = 1.36$ vs. $M_{Turkish} = 4.53$, $SD_{Turkish} = 1.16$), $F(1, 421) = 13.01$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .03$ (See Figure 2.1). This finding replicates other research on cultural differences in self-construals.

Table 2.2

Means and Standard Deviations for Self-Construals

	Belgium			Turkey		
	Mother	Teacher	Total	Mother	Teacher	Total
Autonomy	4.74 (.92)	5.97 (.84)	5.36 (1.07)	4.75 (.95)	5.40 (1.14)	5.08 (1.10)
Relatedness	4.86 (1.3)	3.63 (1.12)	4.24 (1.30)	4.88 (1.18)	4.21 (1.05)	4.53 (1.16)

Table 2.3

Correlations between study variables

	With Mother				With Teacher			
	Belgian students		Turkish students		Belgian students		Turkish students	
	A	R	A	R	A	R	A	R
Mother's education	.05	.03	.05	.09	-.02	-.09	.11	.00
Age	.22**	-.16	-.06	-.31**	-.03	-.09	-.13	-.15
Gender	-.17*	.24**	.13	.28*	-.01	-.03	.23*	-.03

Note. A = Autonomy and R = Relatedness. Mother Education (1 = Lower than high school, 2 = High school, 3 = University or higher); Gender (0 = Male, 1 = Female).
*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$.

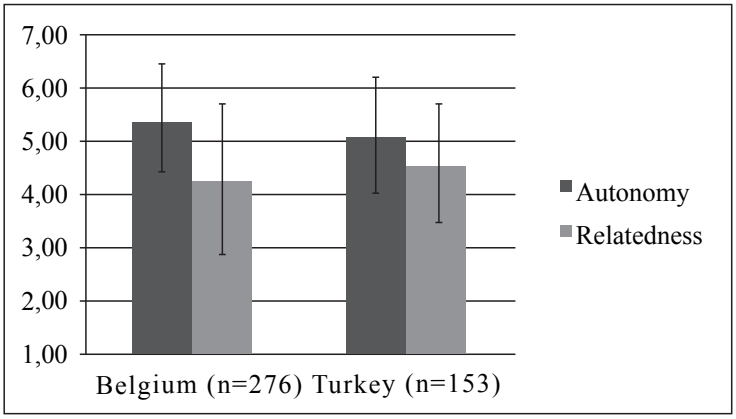

Figure 2.1. Levels of Autonomy and Relatedness across Cultures

These differences were qualified by a significant interaction between culture and relationship context, $F(2, 420) = 6.08$, $p = .002$, $\eta^2 = .03$. To explore this interaction further, we contrasted autonomy and relatedness scores within each relationship context, using univariate ANOVAs. Consistent with our hypothesis, there were no cultural differences for the self in relationship with the mother (see Figure 2.2): Neither autonomy ($M_{Belgians} = 4.74$, $SD_{Belgians} = .92$ vs. $M_{Turkish} = 4.75$, $SD_{Turkish} = .95$), $F(1, 421) = .02$, *ns*) nor relatedness levels ($M_{Belgians} = 4.86$, $SD_{Belgians} = 1.30$ vs. $M_{Turkish} = 4.88$, $SD_{Turkish} = 1.18$), $F(1, 421) = .72$, *ns*) differed between Belgian and Turkish youth. Yet, for relationship with the teacher we found significant cultural differences in both autonomy and relatedness (see Figure 2.3): Belgian students were significantly more autonomous ($M_{Belgians} = 5.97$, $SD_{Belgians} = .84$ vs. $M_{Turkish} = 5.40$, $SD_{Turkish} = 1.14$), $F(1, 442) = 17.99$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .04$, and significantly less related ($M_{Belgians} = 3.63$, $SD_{Belgians} = 1.12$ vs. $M_{Turkish} = 4.21$, $SD_{Turkish} = 1.05$), $F(1, 442) = 11.608$, $p = .001$, $\eta^2 = .03$ than Turkish students.

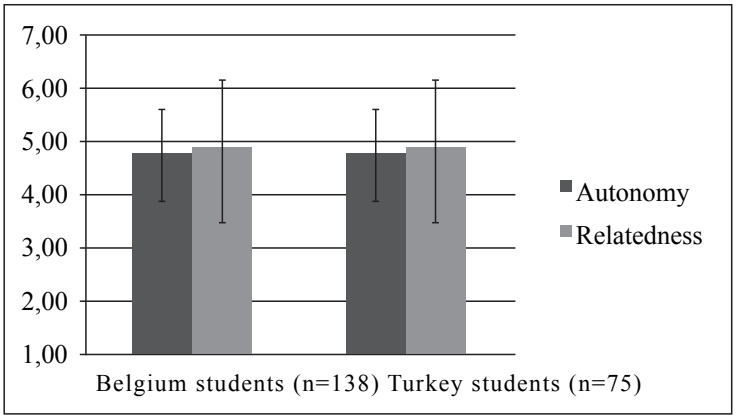

Figure 2.2. Levels of Autonomy and Relatedness in Relation to Mother

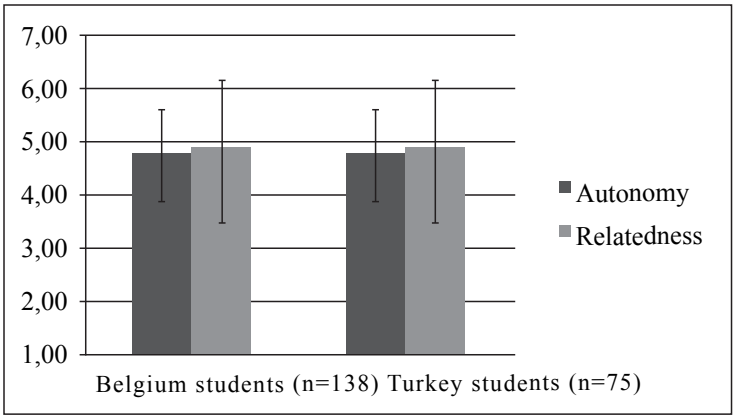

Figure 2.3. Levels of Autonomy and Relatedness in Relation to Teacher

Contextual differences in autonomy and relatedness within each culture

We also followed up on the significant interaction between culture and relationship context by exploring, within each culture, the differences across relationship contexts. To this end, we contrasted the mother to the teacher contexts: In both cultures, students rated themselves as more autonomous in relation to teachers than to the mothers, $F(1, 421) = 115.748$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .22$ for Belgian students and, $F(1, 421) = 17.244$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .04$ for Turkish students. Conversely, students in both cultures rated themselves as less related to teachers than to mothers, $F(1, 421) = 80.884$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .16$ for Belgian students, and $F(1, 421) = 11.90$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .03$, for Turkish students. The differences between relationship contexts seem more pronounced for the Belgian than for the Turkish context.

2.4 Discussion

There is a large literature showing cultural differences in the relative importance of autonomy and relatedness. However, few studies have addressed the role of relationship contexts. In the current study, we investigated whether cultural differences in self-construals replicated across different relationship contexts. We compared self-construals of Belgian and Turkish samples in relationship with mothers and teachers, respectively.

We adopted a measure of autonomy and relatedness that yielded similar factors of autonomy and relatedness across cultures and relationship contexts, allowing us to create reliable scales including all the items. Although we established only partial equivalence of the scale, the results did not change when

only including the items for which we found full equivalence (see Table A1.4 in Appendix I and Table A2.1 in Appendix II). Therefore, our findings with these scales inspire confidence.

Consistent with previous studies, aggregated autonomy rating in the Belgian group were higher than those in the Turkish group, whereas aggregated relatedness ratings were lower. This finding is consistent with other research comparing Western European and Turkish self-construals (e.g., Mayer et al., 2012). However, these aggregated differences did not replicate to both relationship contexts. Belgians did not rate themselves as any more autonomous or any less related in relationship to the mother. Only in the relationship with the teacher did we find cultural differences in self-construals, and these seemed more pronounced than for the aggregated self-construals. Therefore, one conclusion from this research is that overall patterns of self-construals at the cultural level may hide context-specific differences in self-construals.

Another conclusion is that specifically examining self-construals within given relationship contexts may also yield cross-cultural *similarities* that would have been hidden by the overall patterns of self-construal. In the current study, we found that both Belgian and Turkish students rated themselves as less autonomous and more related in the mother than in the teacher-context. This suggests that the relationship with the mother affords different ways of being than the relationship with the teacher, and that the direction of these differences is similar across cultures.

Our research also speaks to research showing cultural differences in context dependency of self-construals. Several studies have found such context dependency in Eastern, but not in Western cultures (e.g., Cousins, 1989; English & Chen, 2007, but also see English & Chen, 2011), suggesting that context dependency is typical of relatively collectivist cultures. Our research does not support this conclusion. We find context-dependency in both our Belgian and our Turkish sample, and if anything, the contextual differences in self-construal are larger in the Belgian sample. While this finding may be linked to the particular selection of cultures, this need not be the case: Other studies including North American samples have also found that self-construals differed, depending on the role or relationship context involved (Boucher, 2011; Chen et al., 2006; Church, Alvarez et al., 2012; Church et al., 2008; Church et al., 2013; Mc Connell, 2011). Based on our own finding, combined with this other evidence, we recommend

a more fine-grained analysis of cultural differences in self-construals, in which relationship contexts are taken into account.

Similarity in self-construals *in the mother context* can be understood from the respective characteristics of the Belgian and Turkish cultures. On the one hand, Belgium (just like its neighboring countries) is characterized by a softer variant of individualism than can be found in North American cultures (Boiger, Dedeyne, & Mesquita, 2013). This variant simultaneously emphasizes individuals' self-expression, and the importance of relationships (also called egalitarian self-expression, Schwartz & Ros, 1995), and is manifest in the relationships between Belgian parents and their adolescent children (Beyers et al., 2003). The finding that Belgian adolescents in our study describe themselves both as autonomous and as related in the mother context fits within the characterization yielded by a number of other studies in this cultural context.

On the other hand, Turkey (especially modern Turkey), combines autonomy and relatedness. Central to Turkish culture is the emphasis on closely-knit ties; however, mid-to-high Socio-economic status groups in modern Turkish culture are characterized by psychological interdependence, which is relatedness combined with autonomy (see Kağıtçıbaşı, 2005, 2007, for a review). For instance, Turkish, Greek, and Algerian university students are found to value closeness with family and friends more, but autonomy no less, than do European American, German, or Dutch students (İmamoğlu & Karakitapoğlu-Aygün, 2004; Georgas et al., 2006; Phalet & Hagendoorn, 1996; Pouliasi & Verkuyten, 2011; Üskül, Hynie, & Lalonde, 2004). The findings of a self-construal that is both autonomous and related in the mother context are thus consistent with other findings on self-construals in educated groups of Mediterranean countries.

Cultural differences in self-construals were much more pronounced for the *teacher context*. This means that self-construals as needed in the relationship with the teacher appear to be 'cultured': Belgian self-construals emphasize autonomy more at the expense of relatedness than Turkish self-construals. The finding resonates with Bourdieu's view that schools are sources of cultural reproduction (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Sullivan, 2002). In the Belgian culture, the relationship with the teacher requires relatively more autonomy, whereas in the Turkish culture, the relationship with the teacher is one of more relatedness. Similar conclusions were reached by research on Belgian and Turkish teachers respectively, as described in the introduction (Cemalcılar, 2010; Vansteenkiste et al., 2004).

In both relationship contexts, and across contexts, the correlation between autonomy and relatedness was moderately negative. This finding is consistent with previous research (Tamis-LeMonda, 2008), and suggests that autonomy and relatedness are somewhat conflicting self-construals at the level of the individual. At the same time, at the cultural level, autonomous and related self-construals co-occur, and this is true in both cultures and for both relationship contexts.

Future research should address the consequences of fit with relationship contexts in different cultures. If cultural differences in self-construals are functional within certain relationship contexts and cultures, we would expect that self-construals lead to personal and social well-being when they fit the requirements of the relationship within a particular culture. This would go beyond literature showing that cultural fit generally predicts subjective wellbeing (Kitayama, Karasawa, Curhan, Ryff, & Markus, 2010; Kitayama, Mesquita, & Karasawa, 2006), suggesting that it is the fit within a particular relationship within that culture that counts.

CHAPTER 3

Being Related and Autonomous: Indirect and Direct Acculturation of Self

This chapter will be prepared for submission as a research paper in collaboration with Derya Güngör (KU Leuven; Yaşar University), Jozefien De Leersnyder (KU Leuven), Batja Mesquita (KU Leuven) and Karen Phalet (KU Leuven)

3.1. Introduction

As globalization and migration render societies increasingly multicultural, intercultural contact instigate changes not only in people's lifestyles but also in their understanding of themselves and their relationships. Researchers have found that self-construals contain high independent values or concerns in addition to interdependent ones in 'modern' or globalizing cultures of interdependence (e.g. Cheng et al., 2011; Georgas , Berry, van de Vijver, Kağıtçıbaşı, & Poortinga, 2006; Hansen, Postmes, van der Vinne & van Thiel, 2012; Hardin, Leong, & Bhagwat, 2004; Güngör, Karasawa, Boiger, Dinçer, & Mesquita, 2014; Yamada & Singelis, 1999). According to cultural psychologists, these multicultural selves with co-existing high level of independence and interdependence signifies a smooth process in which Western way of being (independence) is internalized by non-Western people and integrated by them into their existing self-system (interdependence), without creating a mental conflict between these systems (Cohen, 2001; Kağıtçıbaşı, 2005).

While increased engagement with a multicultural context may promote a self-construal involving high independence and interdependence concerns, whether these concerns can indeed co-exist compatibly remains an unanswered question. Thus the central question is: As they interact with an independent culture, do people from interdependent cultures continue to feel themselves closely related to others even their wishes and decisions do not coincide with them? Addressing the question of compatibility requires not only focusing on the content of the self-construal (i.e., independent or interdependent) as it has generally been done, but also examining the structure of the self-construal, or the perceived link between being independent and interdependent (Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2007). The latter informs us about less explicit or more subtle psychological changes in people's self-construals, enabling us to conclude more confidently about the compatibility of self-construals in the context of globalization and migration.

Taking the perspective from acculturation framework, we argue that compatibility and conflict of self-construals hinge upon specific contexts and experiences of cultural contact. Most acculturation research has studied migrants' explicit cultural attitudes and identities in contact situations (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2012). A frequent finding is that immigrants combine – to varying degrees – heritage cultural identities or preferences with significant mainstream cultural identities or preferences (Sam &

Berry, 2010). This 'integration' pattern of acculturation in the context of migration does not necessarily imply, however, the absence of conflict between migrants' heritage and mainstream cultural commitments. Rather, there are mixed findings of conflict or compatibility for different migrant groups in different host societies (Berry et al., 2006; Snauwaert, Soenens, Vanbeselaere, & Boen, 2003). Would a common finding of bicultural 'integration' at the level of explicit attitudes extend to more subtle combinations of (heritage cultural) interdependence with (mainstream) independence concerns in peoples' self-understandings?

The present study proposes that (1) compatibility is afforded in an indirect mode (globalization within the Turkish cultural context) than in a direct mode of acculturation (international migration from Turkey to the West); and, (2) acculturating persons who prefer an integration strategy (combining non-Turkish and Western contact preferences) experience more compatibility than those preferring alternate assimilation or separation strategies (more monocultural strategies towards the mainstream or heritage cultural groups, respectively). To this end, two studies will examine the level of compatibility between interdependent and independent self-construals in relation to close others (i.e., mother) across an indirect (Turkish and Belgian university students; Study 1) and a direct mode of cultural contact (Turkish immigrant and mainstream community members in Belgium; Study 2). In both cases, self-patterns will be compared to Belgian samples.

Thus, the current study aims to make three contributions. First, we expect that mapping variations in the compatibility of self-construals by different modes of acculturation will provide a more nuanced picture of cultural signifiers than can be obtained by only looking at the aggregated differences in self-construal. Second, we contribute to an emerging field of psychological acculturation (e.g., personality, Güngör et al., 2012) from the domain of self-construals and thus provide insights into how deep acculturation permeates in peoples' psychological lives beyond explicit attitudes and behaviors. Finally, we aim to benefit cross-cultural research by including samples from two cultures that are not typically studied, and thus extend our knowledge base beyond the traditional East-West comparisons.

Culture and self-construals

Self-construal is a central concept in psychology which reflects how we perceive ourselves in relation to others and determines the ways we respond

to our social environment. People in different cultures construe themselves differently, in line with culturally valued ways of being and relating to others in their social environment (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2005; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 2001). Much evidence of the cultural constitution of self is organized around a broad distinction between so-called cultures of interdependence and independence (Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010). In interdependent cultures, such as East- and West-Asian cultures, unity and "fitting in" are highly valued; people see themselves as closely related or interconnected with others; and their wishes or choices often coincide with those of close others (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). In these cultures, relatedness concerns are central to people's sense of self (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2005). In contrast, Western cultures of independence, such as North American and West European cultures, value uniqueness and "standing out from the crowd"; people see themselves as separate individual entities; and their goals and choices more often differ from those of close others (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). In these cultures, personal autonomy is a central self-concern (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2005).

If the self is culturally constituted, people should experience new cultural ways of being and relating when they come into sustained contact with a new culture, for instance, when they migrate from one culture to another. A large share of culture contact experiences worldwide involves students or migrants from interdependent societies coming into indirect or direct contact with the West (Ma & Schoeneman, 1997; Sam & Berry, 2010). Against this backdrop, we ask the question how worldwide culture contact with Western cultures of independence connects to the self-construal of people in interdependent cultures. How do their self-concerns change as they engage in independent cultural contexts? In particular, when will they experience conflict or compatibility between relatedness and autonomy in their relationships with significant others?

In addressing this question, we conceptualized cultural influences on self-construals in terms of autonomy and relatedness as central concerns in Western and non-Western cultural contexts, respectively (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2005). Although initial cross-cultural approaches categorized cultures in terms of independent and interdependent selves (e.g., Markus & Kitayama, 1991), the former conceptualization acknowledges that people in all cultures perceive themselves as autonomous and related (see also Ryan & Deci, 2000) but the relative importance of these orientations varies from culture to culture (e.g., Coşkan, Phalet, Güngör, & Mesquita, 2016; Georgas et al., 2001). Previous research on autonomy and

relatedness also confirm the characterization of Belgian culture as independent and Turkish culture as interdependent culture (Coşkan et al., 2016; Güngör & Bornstein, 2010). Specifically, we examined the content and structure of self-construals in terms of (a) the *relative focus* on autonomy and relatedness and (b) the *relative compatibility* of autonomy and relatedness within people in these contexts. In terms of levels of autonomy and relatedness, we did not hypothesize any differences in autonomy between Turkish and Belgian students yet we expected that Turkish students would be more related than Belgian students (Hypothesis 1).

The compatibility of self-construals across cultures

Whether a culture promotes independence or interdependence of a person to close others affects the way autonomy and relatedness are experienced in relation to one another (Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2007). People in non-Western cultures of interdependence negotiate their independence against the background of closeness with others. To the extent that conformity is a norm, autonomy, or making decisions and choices independent from close others can be interpreted as a threat to the existing ties (Kim & Markus, 1999). By contrast, in cultures of independence, people are more motivated to diverge from others by resisting the influence and choices made by others (Kim, Cohen, & Au, 2010). While close relationships are also important in Western contexts (Rothbaum, Pott, Azuma, Miyake, & Weisz, 2000), it comes second place because the self is perceived as an autonomous entity which "is a priori, separate and self-contained and must resist the collective" (Markus & Kitayama, 1994, p. 569). Social ties with others are negotiable; they are seen as desirable to the extent that perceived risks or costs of autonomy for relationship are not too high. Social relationships take on psychological significance against the backdrop of a primary concern for individual. Therefore, non-Western and Western self-construals are structured around contrasting concerns for relatedness and autonomy.

Contextualizing compatibility: Acculturation of self-construals

If autonomy and relatedness are experienced as mutually exclusive ways of being in cultures of independence and interdependence, is it possible for people who are in close contact with both cultural contexts to be both autonomous and related without experiencing a mental conflict? In other words, does acculturation influence self-construals towards a compatible pattern? Acculturation research has traditionally investigated psychological changes as a result of migration,

but recent research has shown that one does not need to migrate to acculturate in today's fast globalizing world (e.g., Bender & Ng, 2009). However, the implications of acculturation through migration and globalization may be different for self-construals because the former includes direct and the latter involves indirect contact with a new culture. Hence, we predict different outcomes for the compatibility of self-construals for these different modes of acculturation.

Indirect acculturation

This mode of acculturation refers to psychological changes initiated by globalization, which brings geographically distant cultural groups in indirect contact through modern tools of communication such internet and technology use and formal education. These modern settings foreground autonomy, e.g., by exposing people to competitive education and work conditions that reward independent thinkin (Hansen, Postmes, Tovote, & Bos, 2014)particularly in rural areas. Children with laptops endorsed modern values more strongly, but traditional values were bolstered as well. Modern value change mediated the effect of laptop usage on the endorsement of gender equality. Theoretical and practical implications for cultural changes related to gender equality are discussed. \u00a9 The Author(s. An important outcome of the globalization is that these new social structures are integrated into existing ones in both distal (e.g., educational institutions) and proximal (e.g., family relationships) social environments (Berry, 2008; Kağıtçıbaşı, 2007). According to Kağıtçıbaşı (2005), engaging in such a socioculturally complex environment, in turn, increases the complexity of self-construal so that that individuals can imagine themselves as going against significant others' expectations while they are still feeling close to them (cf. social identity complexity, Roccas & Brewer, 2002).

In support of this argument, cross-generational studies on the socialization goals of urban families in interdependent cultures such as Turkey and Japan, found increased emphasis on autonomy among more highly educated and younger cohorts of mothers, in addition to high relatedness (Güngör et al., 2014; Kağıtçıbaşı, Ataca, & Diri, 2010). Such a co-existing pattern of self extends beyond family, for example, to schools, where teacher-student relationship is characterized by high relatedness and autonomy simultaneously (Beyazkürk & Kesner, 2005). Similarly, although the lifestyles and daily choices of non-Western university students reflect independence, relatedness remains to be a core aspect of their self-definition. For example, Japanese, Turkish, Greek, and

Algerian university students are found to value closeness with significant others more, but autonomy not less, than do European American, German, Belgian or Dutch students (Coşkan et al., 2016; Georgas et al., 2001; Güngör et al., 2014; Sue, Yan Cheng, Saad, & Chu, 2012; Üskül, Hynie, & Lalonde, 2004). In Study 1, we hypothesize that Turkish university students experience autonomy and relatedness as compatible, as both are part of one, socio-culturally integrative modern Turkish life. Conversely, we expect that similar levels of independence in Western university students (here Belgians) preclude interdependence. Therefore, we hypothesize that autonomy is associated with separateness in Belgian samples, but not in Turks (Hypothesis 2).

Direct acculturation

Direct acculturation refers to the experience of immigrants who are invariably exposed to (at least) two cultures. Unlike indirect acculturation, direct acculturation may occur in socioculturally diverse environments where immigrant communities and larger societal culture are often separated by bright boundaries and competing values rather than in intersecting or overlapping cultural circles. Under such conditions, immigrants may soon associate autonomy (vs. conformity) with assimilation to the majority culture while relatedness (vs. separateness) represents minority culture (Durgel, Leyendecker, Yagmurlu, & Harwood, 2009; Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2007). Confirming this argument, Ryder et al. (2000, Study 2) found that Chinese American university students' heritage culture contact was associated with higher relatedness (as measured by the interdependent self scale by Singelis, 1994) whereas European American culture contact was associated with autonomy (as assessed by Singelis' independent self scale). Thus, a compatible self-construal may not be readily available for all immigrants.

Furthermore, there are individual differences in how people negotiate their heritage and mainstream cultures. This variability affords multiple pathways, i.e., acculturation strategies, for dealing with culturally diverse expectations (Berry, 2005)I take one example of these issues, and examine the cultural and psychological aspects of these phenomena that take place during the process of acculturation. During acculturation, groups of people and their individual members engage in intercultural contact, producing a potential for conflict, and the need for negotiation in order to achieve outcomes that are adaptive for both parties. Research on aculturation, including acculturation strategies, changes in behaviours, and acculturative stress are reviewed. There are large group and

individual differences in how people (in both groups in contact. Some immigrants prefer to interact with the mainstream culture while abandoning ties with the heritage culture, i.e., assimilationists; others prefer maintaining their relationships with the heritage culture to interacting with mainstreamers, i.e., separationists. Yet others adopt a strategy that involves engaging in similar extents in both mainstream and heritage culture, i.e., integrationists. Acculturation strategies facilitate the internalization of culturally relevant concerns and thus fitting in (Ward & Kus, 2012). Accordingly, Yamada and Singelis (1999) study mentioned above found that integrationist minorities in Hawaii were higher in both autonomy and relatedness than did assimilationist and separationist minorities. Similarly, Durgel et al., (2009) reported that integrationist Turkish German mothers, relative to assimilationists and separationists, were more autonomy and relatedness oriented in their child-rearing goals than separationist and assimilationist mothers. Moreover, assimilationist Turkish immigrants in Germany share the same values as mainstreamers, separationists support these values least, while integrationists take a mid-position (Durgel et al., 2009). However, none of these studies focused further on compatibility among acculturating samples.

In light of these individual strategies of acculturation and as distinct from indirect acculturation, we argue that the level of compatibility between autonomy and relatedness would rather depend on the – possibly psychologically demanding or challenging – individual preference to combine both cultures. Given salient cultural differences, independent and interdependent selves can be conflictual in two ways: either independence is adopted at the cost of relinquishing interdependence (assimilationism) or interdependence is maintained at the cost of (threatening) independence (separationism). From acculturation research, there should be a third option where both cultures are combined (integrationism). Accordingly, we argue that integration may enable a third, compatible self-pattern (where relatedness is maintained and autonomy is added on to it).

In Study 2, we tested the hypotheses that i) Turkish Belgians would be less autonomous and more related than Belgians (Hypothesis 3); ii) Turkish Belgians, compared to Belgians would display a less conflictual self-pattern (Hypothesis 4); iii) monoculturals (Belgians) and immigrants who have adopted a monocultural acculturation strategy (assimilationists and separationists) would reveal an association of autonomy with separateness, displaying a similarly highly conflictual self-construal. Conversely, a compatible self-construal would best be predicted by integrationist acculturation strategy (Hypothesis 5).

Autonomy and relatedness in relational context

People in interdependent cultures find it easier to imagine themselves with reference to specific relationships than to define themselves in abstract terms (Cousin, 1989). Furthermore, self-construals are situated so that people in both independent and interdependent cultures tend to perceive themselves differently even in different close relationships, e.g., with their mothers and teachers (Coşkan et al., 2016). Therefore, we focused on self-with-mother in that relatedness and autonomy items measure understanding self as having strong ties with mother and being free from the influence from mother, respectively. Self-with-mother is a primary context of cultural transmission, which profoundly affects one's sense of self beyond early ages across cultures (e.g. Rothbaum, Weisz, Pott, Miyake, & Morelli, 2000). Not surprisingly, representations of the relationships with mother is one of the most extensively studied relationship context to understand cultural differences in self-understanding (e.g. Sabatier & Lannegrand-Willems, 2005). Thus, a research focus on self-with-mother can also be seen as a hard test of 'deep' cultural differences and acculturative influences.

Overall, we examine the effects of indirect acculturation in a sample of Turkish university students in Turkey (Study 1), and of direct acculturation in a sample of Turkish immigrants in Belgium (Study 2). Both students and immigrants are exposed to two cultures, and both may take on characteristics of Western culture.

3.2 Study 1

Study 1 examines the cultural affordance of compatibility in indirect mode of acculturation. We focused on the compatible self-patterns in a modern Turkish context, as distinct from a Western independent pattern in Belgium. We hypothesized that Turkish and Belgian students would not differ in their level of autonomy but that Turkish students would show more relatedness than Belgians (Hypothesis 1). Furthermore, we hypothesized that autonomy and relatedness would be less conflicting in Turkish students, in line with a more compatible self-pattern, as compared with Belgian students, who were expected to show a more conflicting self-pattern (Hypothesis 2).

3.2.1 Method

Participants and Procedure

Participants were 82 Belgian students from the University of Leuven in Belgium and 70 Turkish students from Ege University in İzmir. İzmir, with its

historical and geographical proximity to Europe, is known as one of the most 'Westernized' cities of Turkey. Belgian and Turkish samples were matched with respect to age, M = 19.88 and 19.76 years, SD = 1.39 and 1.25, respectively, $t(147) = -.51$, *ns.*, and gender distribution, 28% and 23% men, respectively. Students differed with respect to their socioeconomic background, as assessed by maternal education, $\chi^2(4, N = 150) = 57.67$, $p < .001$. Most Belgian mothers had tertiary education (58.5%) and most Turkish mothers had primary school education (42.6%). The questionnaires –in Dutch for Belgians and in Turkish for Turks– were administered in the classrooms as part of a course requirement.

Measures

Autonomy and Relatedness in relation to mother. We used Kağıtçıbaşı's (2007) 18-item Self-construal scale (SCS), which contains Relatedness and Autonomy subscales. Originally, the scale asks self-perceptions in close relationships, but we adapted the items to refer to self-perception in relation to mother. As seen in Table 3.1, the Autonomy subscale assesses the level of resistance or susceptibility to the influence of significant others whereas the Relatedness subscale measures the strength of closeness to significant others. The SCS was used in cross-cultural studies with Turkish, Belgian, English, and Japanese monoculturals, as well as in studies with Turkish minorities in the UK, Turkey, and Germany (Çelenk, van de Vijver, & Goodwin, 2011; Güngör et al., 2014; Güngör, Phalet, & Kağıtçıbaşı, 2013; Kağıtçıbaşı & Otyakmaz, 2006).

In addition to the existing items, we added the 3-item Autonomy scale by La Guardia, Ryan, Couchman, & Deci (2000), e.g., "When I am with my mother, I feel controlled and pressured in certain ways" to measure autonomy, because they reflect the level of constraint felt in making own decisions, an aspect of (the lack of) autonomy which is absent in the SCS. Respondents indicated the degree of their agreement with the items from 1(*Totally disagree*) to 7 (*Totally agree*).

Table 3.1

Common SCA-ECP component weights for Autonomy and Relatedness items

	Study 1		Study 2	
Autonomy				
When I am with my mother, I feel controlled and pressured in certain ways. (R)	**.47**	.30	.38	**.69**
I lead my life according to the opinions of my mother. (R)	.07	**.78**	.10	**.87**
The opinions of my mother influence me on personal issues. (R)	-.27	**.60**	-.12	**.69**
On personal issues, I conform to the decisions of my mother. (R)	-.20	**.70**	-.40	**.70**
I usually conform to the wishes of my mother. (R)	.05	**.80**	-.40	**.70**
I can easily change my decisions based on my mother's wishes. (R)	-.13	**.68**	-.22	**.75**
Relatedness				
During hard times, I need the support of my mother.	**.65**	-.20	**.57**	-.16
I keep a certain distance in my relationship with my mother. (R)*	**.71**	.00	**.49**	.03
Generally, I don't talk to my mother on my personal issues. (R)	**.70**	-.04	**.47**	.01
My mother strongly influences my personality.	**.45**	-.38	**.58**	-.32
I think often of my mother.	**.64**	-.19	**.76**	-.01
It is not important for me what my mother thinks of me. (R)	**.49**	.00	**.49**	.01
My relationship with mother is my top priority.	**.60**	-.25	**.70**	-.38
My relationship with my mother makes me feel peaceful and secure.	**.82**	-.18	**.79**	-.38

To ensure equivalent meanings across language versions, the SCS – which was originally designed and written in Turkish – was first translated from Turkish to Dutch and then back translated to Turkish (Brislin, 1980). In addition, we performed a 2-factor Simultaneous Components Analysis (SCA; De Roover, Ceulemans, & Timmerman, 2012) on the scale to test the construct equivalence of the autonomy and relatedness dimensions across cultural groups. The SCA yielded

two components, one for Autonomy and one for Relatedness, and confirmed that 6 autonomy and 8 relatedness items had comparable meanings across Turkish and Belgian samples. After dropping the items with factor weights that were below .35, explained variances by the 2-component SCA-ECP solution (i.e., a model with variances and covariances of components restricted to be equal across cultural groups) (48.66% for Belgians and 45.61% for Turks) were comparable with that by a varimax rotated PCA for each sample separately (49.38% and 46.57%, respectively). Composite scales of Autonomy and Relatedness were formed based on the common SCA solution (see Table 3.1 for the scale items)[5].

3.2.2 Results and Discussion

We predicted that Turkish sample would show a compatible self-pattern and Belgians would show a conflictual one. First we examined the focus on autonomy and relatedness with a mixed design ANOVA with Culture (Belgians and Turks) as between-subjects factor and Autonomy and Relatedness as within-subject repeated measures. Participants' gender and mother education were used as covariates because, among Belgians, being female (r = .24, p = .03) and having a more highly educated mother (r = -.25, p = .03) were associated with more relatedness and autonomy, respectively. As expected, Turks and Belgians did not differ in their level of autonomy, 4.59, SD = .94, and M = 4.34, SD = 1.02, respectively. $F(1, 144) = .01$, *ns*. However, as expected, Turks had higher levels of relatedness to their mothers than Belgians, 5.59, SD = .74, and M = 5.16, SD = 1.13, respectively, $F(1, 144) = 6.84$, p = .01, η_p^2 = .05.

Subsequently, to test whether Turks would show a more compatible self-pattern than Belgians, we calculated partial correlations between autonomy and relatedness, controlling for gender and mother education. As expected, Turks' autonomy was not significantly associated with their relatedness, r = -.13, p = .33, whereas Belgians' autonomy was negatively and significantly correlated with their relatedness, r = -.32, p = .004 (see left panel Figure 1). However, the difference between Belgian and Turkish self-patterns did not reach significance, as revealed by Fisher's r to z transformation for independent samples, z = 1.15, p = .13.

Together, these results largely confirmed Hypothesis 1, suggesting both cultural similarities and differences in terms of focus on autonomy and relatedness and Hypothesis 2, suggesting a compatible self-pattern among Turks

[5] Reliability alphas were satisfactory for all scales, .76 for Belgian and Turkish autonomy, and .63 and .87 for Turkish and Belgian relatedness, respectively.

and conflictual self-pattern among Belgians. However, the compatibility was in absolute terms, since Belgians did not differ significantly from Turks in terms of the perceived link between autonomy and relatedness.

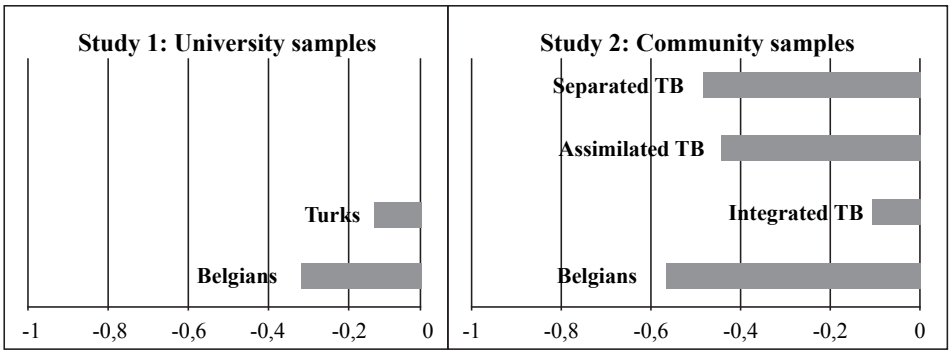

Figure 3.1. Partial correlations between Autonomy and Relatedness, controlled for gender and SES.

3.3 Study 2

Study 2 aims to examine the focus on autonomy and relatedness, and the affordances of compatibility in the direct mode of acculturation. We first examine levels of and the compatibility between autonomy and relatedness of Turkish Belgians in comparison to monocultural Belgians (Hypotheses 3 and 4). Then, we focus on the self-patterns of Turkish immigrants in relation to their acculturation strategies, as distinct from the Western pattern of independence. Integrationism implicates contact with two cultures, and thus would be linked to the perceived compatibility of relatively high levels of autonomy and relatedness. By contrast, assimilationist and separationist strategies are more monocultural strategies; therefore, assimilating and separationists immigrants are expected to experience autonomy and relatedness as similarly conflicting aspects of their self as do Belgians. Yet, because their contact priority differs, assimilating immigrants should be most and the separating ones should be least similar to mono-cultural Belgians in terms of the levels of autonomy and relatedness (Hypothesis 5).

3.3.1 Method

Participants and Procedure

Participants were 53 Belgian (45% men) and 72 first- and second generation Turkish Belgian adults (37% men) from three neighborhoods in Gent, a medium-sized city highly populated by Turkish immigrants and situated in the

Dutch-speaking part of Belgium, Flanders. They were recruited through flyers and received 10 Euro for their participation in the study. Samples were matched with respect to age (range = 18-56 years, M = 30.44 and 32.10, SD = 1.25 and 1.39, respectively, $F(1, 122) = .76$, *ns*) gender distribution, ($\chi^2(1) = .77$, *ns*), and education (72% of the Turkish Belgians and 51% of the Belgians had no more than secondary education).

Measures

Self-construals. We used the same relatedness and autonomy items as in Study 1. An orthogonally rotated 2-factor SCA yielded factors that were largely identical to those obtained in Study 1. The common factor solution explained 46.41 and 50.17 percent of the variance for Turkish Belgian and Belgian participants, respectively. These percentages were comparable to those yielded by the separate-group Principal Component Analyses (51.68 for Belgians and 47.34 for Turkish Belgians), suggesting structural equivalence of the components across the two samples[6].

Acculturation strategies. The levels of contact preferences were used to compose acculturation strategies. We adapted 4 items from the Vancouver Index of Acculturation (VIA, Ryder et al., 2000) to Turkish Belgians to measure their levels of preference for social relations with both the heritage and the mainstream culture (De Leersnyder, Mesquita, and Kim, 2011): (1) "I would be willing to marry a Turk [Belgian]," (2) "I enjoy social activities as most Turks [Belgians] of my age do," (3) "I am comfortable working with people from Turkish [Belgian] culture", and (4) "I like to make friends with Turkish [Belgian] people". Responses ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*)[7].

We classified Turkish Belgians according to their acculturation strategies by performing a K-means cluster analyses on their contact preferences. Consistent with the 3 meaningful acculturation strategy found by Berry et al. (2006) among immigrant youth including European Turks, we found clusters containing

[6] The Autonomy scale had a low reliability in both groups (alpha = .41), due to one item that had a low item-total correlation: "I lead my life according to the opinions of my mother.". Chronbach's alpha would increase to .74 and .77, respectively, if this item is deleted, but the results would not change after dropping this item. To make the scales of Study 1 and 2 comparable, we decided to keep this item in the autonomy scale. The Relatedness scale had satisfactory internal reliabilities with alpha levels of .72 for Turkish Belgians and .80 for Turks.

[7] Internal consistencies for both cultural orientations were acceptable, .64 and .75 for heritage and mainstream cultural orientations, respectively.

integrationists (n = 30), assimilationists (n = 19), and separationists (n = 22). Additional analyses verified the distinctiveness of these groups: Assimilated Turkish Belgians preferred less contact with their heritage culture members (M = 4.05; SD = .82) than did both the integrated (M = 6.34; SD = .54) and separated (M = 6.18; SD = .78) groups, $F(2, 68) = 70.28$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .67$. Separated Turkish Belgians preferred less contact with the mainstream culture members (M = 3.49; SD = .68), than did both the integrated (M = 5.72; SD = .70), and assimilated groups (M = 5.46; SD = 1.01), $F(2, 68) = 55.42$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .62$. Thus, the integrated immigrants showed similarly high levels of heritage cultural contact as separated immigrants, and similarly high levels of mainstream cultural contact as assimilated immigrants.

3.3.2 Results and Discussion

Compatible vs. conflictual self-patterns in indirect acculturation

To see the overall self-pattern in immigrants as compared with monocultural Belgians, first a mixed design ANOVA was conducted, with Culture (Belgians and Turkish Belgians) as between-subjects factor and relatedness and autonomy as a within-subject repeated measures variable. We used the same covariates as in Study 1, except participants' own education was now used as an index of socio economic status (instead of one's mother's education). In contrast to Study 1, we found that gender was not related to self-patterns and that Belgians' educational level was positively correlated with relatedness (r = .30, p = .04) and negatively related with autonomy (r = -.31, p = .03). Confirming Hypothesis 3, there were significant cultural differences in the levels of relatedness, $F(1, 115) = 8.19$, p = .005, $\eta^2_p = .07$, as well as in the levels of autonomy, $F(1, 115) = 12$, p = .001, $\eta^2_p = .09$. As expected, Turkish Belgians perceived themselves as more related to their mothers than did Belgians, 5.37, SD = 1.06, and M = 4.74, SD = 1.28, respectively. Moreover, Turkish Belgians were less autonomous than Belgians, 3.64, SD = .99, and M = 4.27, SD = .98, respectively. In addition, Turkish Belgians showed a significantly conflictual self-pattern, as revealed by a negative correlation between relatedness and autonomy, r = -.26, p = .03. However, largely supporting Hypothesis 4, they were not as conflictual as monocultural Belgians who showed a stronger negative link between relatedness and autonomy, r = -.55, $p < .001$, z = 1.78, p = .04, suggesting a relative compatibility in the direct acculturation of Turkish immigrants.

Acculturation strategies and self-construals[8]

In linking compatibility to individual acculturation strategies, we conducted a mixed design ANOVA with Culture (Belgians and 3 acculturation groups) as between-subjects factor and relatedness and autonomy as within-subject repeated measures, again controlling for participants' gender and education. As hypothesized, integrationist Turkish Belgian and monocultural Belgians differed significantly in relatedness, $F(3, 112) = 3.81$, $p = .01$, $\eta^2_p = .09$, and autonomy, $F(3, 112) = 5.81$, $p = .001$, $\eta^2_p = .14$, with the former being more related than the latter, 5.62, $SD = .91$, and $M = 4.74$, $SD = 1.28$, respectively, *Contrast estimate* = -.86, $p = .002$. However, integrated Turkish Belgians were less autonomous than Belgians, $M = 3.80$, $SD = .92$, and $M = 4.27$, $SD = .98$, respectively, *contrast estimate* = .48, $p = .04$. Most notably, integrationism was associated with compatibility, as revealed by a weak, negative, and nonsignificant correlation in this group, $r = -.10$, *ns*. Whereas Belgians showed a strong, negative and significant correlation between their relatedness and autonomy, $r = -.55$, $p < .001$. Furthermore, these correlations were significantly different from one another, Fisher's $z = -1.98$, $p = .02$, indicating a compatible self-pattern among integrated Turkish Belgians and confirming Hypothesis 5 (see right panel Figure 1.1).

Again as expected, the self-pattern of assimilated Turkish Belgians mirrored that of monocultural Belgians: Assimilationists were similar to Belgians both in their level of relatedness, *contrast estimate* = -.37, *ns*, and in their level of autonomy, $M = 3.88$, $SD = 1.05$, *contrast estimate* = .41. Furthermore, as Belgians, assimilated Turkish Belgians perceived relatedness similarly highly conflictual with autonomy, $r = -.42$, $p = .10$, Fisher's $z = -.51$, *ns*.

Finally, separated Turkish immigrants showed an opposite self-pattern of Belgians. First, separated Turkish Belgians scored significantly higher on relatedness, $M = 5.35$ (SD = 1.00), *contrast estimate* = -.63, $p = .04$, and lower on autonomy, $M = 3.23$ (SD = .98), *contrast estimate* = 1.06, $p < .001$, than did Belgians. Second, separationism was associated with a conflictual self-pattern, as expressed by a negative and significant correlation between relatedness and

[8] The current stand-alone chapter includes findings on differences in self-construals across acculturation strategy clusters only. A broader view on the link between attitudes toward cultural maintenance and relatedness, and attitudes toward cultural adoption and autonomy can be gained by examining the direct associations between them. To this aim, Appendix 3 provides additional analyses in which first autonomy, and then relatedness are regressed on cultural maintenance and adoption.

autonomy, r = -.44, p = .06, which did not differ from monocultural Belgian pattern, Fisher's z= -.47, *ns*. These results overall confirm Hypothesis 5.

Overall, Study 2 confirmed that compatibility was predicted best by integrationist and conflict was predicted best by assimilationist and separationist acculturation strategies. Assimilationists were most and separationists were least similar to Belgians in their self-patterns, with integrationists with a compatible self-pattern taking place in between. The unexpected correlations between Belgian students' educational level and their autonomy and relatedness levels may be due to the differential meaning of (some items in) our measures or to a 'reference group effect' as more highly educated Belgian students may implicitly compare themselves to a more autonomous and less related reference group than less educated Belgians when rating their own autonomy and relatedness.

3.4 General Discussion

Mass migration from non-Western to Western nations as well as rapidly globalizing technologies and media lead the ever-increasing contact between cultures. In the face of increasingly globalizing world and persistent cultural differences in the construal of self in non-Western and Western cultures, how do people in interdependent cultures come to understand themselves when they are in indirect (globalization) and direct contact (migration) with culture of independence? We addressed this question by focusing on the conditions under which increased independence can co-exist compatibly with being highly interdependent and argued that such compatibility depends on (1) the mode and (2) individual strategies of acculturation. Conceptualizing interdependence and independence in terms of relatedness (i.e., strong ties with mother) and autonomy (being able to make own decisions independent from mother), we expected that an indirect mode of acculturation (globalization within the Turkish cultural context) afford more compatibility than a direct mode of acculturation (migration from Turkey to the West). Furthermore, we hypothesized more compatibility among immigrants who prefer an integration strategy rather than more monocultural strategies of assimilation and separation strategies. The results from two studies which compared self-patterns between an indirect mode (Turkish and Belgian university students in Turkey and Belgium in Study 1) and a direct mode of acculturation (Turkish immigrant and mainstreamers in Belgium in Study 2) confirmed the hypotheses: the compatibility of relatedness with autonomy

is culturally afforded by culture contact situations which enable indirect or integrationist variants of acculturation.

Our findings underline the utility of an acculturation perspective in understanding patterns of self: Immigrants who are willing to maintain their ties with the heritage culture, while also engaging in mainstream cultural contexts, seem to develop a tolerance for co-existing autonomy and relatedness, encouraging them to consider them compatible. It is possible that something similar holds for modern environments in Turkey itself, since these environments (such as universities) allow people to simultaneously engage in non-Western and Western practices. The environments themselves thus may facilitate the experience of autonomy and relatedness as compatible.

At a psychological level, the present study shows that biculturals (i.e., Turkish university students and integrating Turkish immigrants) interpret relatedness and autonomy in more integrative ways than in monoculturals, including both Belgians and assimilated and separated Turkish Belgians. Our findings resonate with some evidence associating culturalism with cognitive complexity in terms of an enhanced capacity in biculturals to combine competing cultural perspectives (Tadmor & Tetlock, 2006); in this case by changing the meaning of autonomy to be compatible with relatedness. Note that integrative complexity can only be captured by measuring the relation between autonomy and relatedness, rather than by measuring differences in their levels.

However, it seems to be important to consider the perceived link between relatedness and autonomy simultaneously with aggregate levels across groups. In doing so, we can come to understand the differences within the 'monocultural' Turkish immigrant groups – i.e., the assimilated and separated Turkish Belgians. Although these two groups both perceived autonomy and relatedness to be conflicting, they strongly diverged from one another with respect to the levels of relatedness and autonomy, indicating that the experienced conflict may have meant something different psychologically. For the assimilated group, just like the monocultural Belgians, high levels of autonomy may be experienced as conflicting with relatedness which is then lower; for the separated group, the lower levels of autonomy may result from a conflict with relatedness which is more dominant. The similarity of the self-construals of assimilated Turkish immigrants to Belgians was compelling, implying that this acculturating group might have internalized the culture of independence in which they participate; they have come to associate 'Turkish' relatedness with restriction of freedom.

Separated individuals, however, might have taken a reactive stance against the mainstream culture and its manifestations –probably due to assimilationist sociocultural climate-, that make it difficult for them to relate to the members of the mainstream culture (e.g., Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, & Solheim, 2009). If we take a compatible pattern of relatedness and autonomy as a likely characteristic in modern interdependent cultures, separated immigrants can be considered not only be 'separating' from Belgian culture per se but also from the general globalization trends towards autonomy. Consistent with these conclusions, Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee, and Morris (2002) reported that immigrants who identified with one culture at the expense of the other, perceived their heritage and mainstream cultural affiliations as less compatible than those who had a strong identification with both cultural contexts. In sum, our findings suggest that conflict between relatedness and autonomy may not always have the same connotation. Our study calls for a closer look at the source of conflict experienced by assimilated and separated biculturals, who differ in the culture they prioritize.

We focused on the impact of cross-cultural contact on interdependent cultural groups. Although Western influence is generally more dominant on the majority of the non-Western cultures, rather than vice versa (Berry, 2008), acculturation can impact all parties involved by leading to cultural and psychological changes in various degrees. Therefore, one interesting question is whether Westerners who are exposed to a non-Western culture may also come to perceive independence and interdependence as compatible. Cross-cultural research has suggested that self-descriptions of Westerners are stable across different situations, whereas this is not the case for non-Westerners (e.g. English & Chen, 2007; Suh, 2002). However, these studies investigated Westerners in a Western context where independence is a norm across situations. It would be interesting to see if Western selves are more likely to adjust to different contexts, when they are exposed to an acculturation context where interdependence prevails. From our findings, Western selves too can be expected to come to integrate relatedness without necessarily losing their autonomy to the extent that they also are in contact with culture of interdependence. In fact, the significant yet relatively weak conflictual self-pattern among Belgian university students in Study 1 might reflect an acculturative trend towards relatedness due to their more frequent contact with other cultures, for example through friendships with immigrant/minority students or social media use, a trend that other researchers too have observed in Western youth (e.g. Bawin-Legros, 2001).

We reasoned that compatibility (rather than conflict) of interdependence and independence follows from indirect or direct (integrative) cultural contact. Thus, engagement in different socioculturally complex or diverse contexts is thought to lead to a larger complexity of thought, with autonomy and relatedness as unrelated dimensions, rather than as extremes of only one dimension. This idea is corroborated by experimental evidence: Priming biculturals with integrative rather than assimilated or separated mindsets, have been shown to result in a more generalized complex style of thinking (Tadmor et al., 2009, Study 3). Furthermore, our study suggests that culture continues to shape even the way we understand ourselves; in this case, ourselves in relationship with our mother. Yet, research that compare self-construals before and after cultural contact may help test another possibility, in that people with compatible self-patterns are aspired to live in contexts and engage with relationships that allows for this compatibility.

A limitation of the current series of studies may be their modest sample sizes. The underpowered analyses may have been responsible for the relatively weak between-culture differences in the correlations of autonomy and relatedness in Study 1. However, the consistency of the patterns across very different samples of 'biculturals' gives us confidence in the phenomenon at hand: Participants in Study 1 were university students in Turkey, whereas participants in Study 2 constituted a community sample of lower-educated Turkish immigrants in Belgium. Sample recruitment from community samples of immigrants is particularly challenging for several reasons including unfamiliarity with the research process or the value of research, little time for participation, or mistrust of investigators. A scientific step to deal with unavoidably small sample sizes is to conduct replication studies. Despite different samples, the *within-culture* correlations were equivalent across the two studies: There were no differences in the perceived conflict between relatedness and autonomy between Belgian university students and Belgian adults from a community sample ($z = 1.51$, *ns*); and neither were there differences in the compatibility between autonomy and relatedness perceived by Turkish university students and integrative Turkish Belgians ($z = .08$, *ns*). The patterning is thus robust, even if results do not always reach conventional levels of significance.

Whereas Turks and Belgians in Study 1 did not differ from each other in their levels of autonomy, assimilated and integrated Turkish immigrants in Study 2 were less autonomous than their native Belgian counterparts. This might have to do with the fact that Turkish Belgians were originally of rural origin and had lower socioeconomic status than all other groups under study. Actually, the separated

Turkish Belgians had the lowest autonomy scores of all groups (below the mid-point of the scale), implying that the lower autonomy of Turkish Belgians might at least be partly due to the re-affirmation of conformity as part of a collective cultural continuity after immigration (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2005; Güngör, Bornstein, & Phalet, 2012).

Our study suggests that interdependence and independence are not inherently conflictual orientations as we found all possible self-patterns for some people in some contexts of culture contact: conflicting high interdependence-low independence; conflicting low interdependence-high independence; and compatible high interdependence-high independence. This variability and contextual nature of compatibility have important implications for understanding the underlying psychological forces of cultural change and diversification, intercultural conflict and tolerance in the globalizing world. We showed that combining cultural psychological insights with an acculturation framework can help us better understand cultural flexibility and agency in adapting the self to the cultural change.

CHAPTER 4

Mastering Independence: A longitudinal study of culture learning in cross-cultural student-teacher relationships

This chapter will be prepared for submission as a research paper in collaboration with
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4.1. Introduction

Acculturation refers to the psychological and behavioral changes that result from sustained intercultural contact between minority and majority cultural groups and members (Graves, 1967; Redfield, Linton & Herskovits, 1936). Taking a culture learning approach to acculturation (Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001; Ward & Kennedy, 1994), much research associates the extent of minorities' exposure to the mainstream culture with increased cultural competence and social skills in interactions with majority group members (Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver, 2006). For instance, mainstream language use and time spent in the country of residence by immigrants have been related to more favorable attitudes towards mainstream cultural values and practices (e.g., Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000), higher identification with the mainstream culture (e.g., Oh, Koeske, & Sales, 2002) and a higher sociocultural adaptation to the mainstream culture (e.g., shopping and gift exchanging customs) (Wilson, Ward, & Fischer, 2013). Thus, exposure to a new/other mainstream culture is associated with changes in a wide variety of psychological and behavioral domains.

Yet, most research on *psychological* acculturation has focused on minorities' self-reported acculturation attitudes towards both their new mainstream and heritage cultures (Berry, 1997; Ryder et al., 2000). Looking beyond these self-reported attitudes, a recent stream of acculturation research has begun to assess psychological changes in other domains, such as the emotional experiences of acculturating persons, their values, their personality, and their self-concept (De Leersnyder, Mesquita, & Kim, 2011; Güngör, Bornstein, De Leersnyder, Cote, Ceulemans & Mesquita, 2013; Güngör, Bornstein, & Phalet, 2012; Heine & Lehman, 2004). Building upon a cultural psychology approach of culture as process (Markus & Kitayama, 2010; Shweder, 1991) and, therefore, on the idea that people's daily interactions with significant others (and how they make sense of them in particular social and cultural settings), shape the ways they feel, think and act, this latter approach expects acculturation to imbue *all* aspects of minorities' psychological functioning.

Along those lines, the present study focuses on acculturative changes in minority students' *self-construal* in relation to their majority teachers. Starting point for this research are the well-documented cultural differences between interdependent and independent self-construals (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2005; Markus & Kitayama, 1991) as we study the acculturation of self among minority youth

with an interdependent cultural background (Turkish and Moroccan) who are exposed to a predominant culture of independence in their (Belgian) school. Our focus is on minorities' construal of *independence* in relation to teachers: Do they prefer to make their own choices and decisions (i.e., independent) or do they prefer to seek guidance and approval from their teachers (i.e., not independent)? Specifically, we ask whether and how these acculturating youngsters come to adopt an independent self-construal in the context of cross-cultural student-teacher relationships. To do so, we examine whether minorities' independence in relation to school teachers is contingent upon their exposure to the mainstream culture and language in the school environment. Is it the case that minority youth with greater cultural exposure and better language proficiency report higher levels of independence in relation to their teachers (Cross-sectional: Study 1)? And, do initial levels of cultural exposure and language proficiency increase independence over time (Longitudinal: Study 2)?

These questions are pertinent as previous research has shown that i) being independent from one's teacher is associated with performance outcomes for both minority and majority youth (Coşkan et al., 2016) and that ii) there are marked cultural differences in the self-construals of Eastern Mediterranean and Northern European majority youth in relation to their school teachers. For instance, in line with known cultural differences between both countries, Turkish students in Turkey reported less independence in relation to their teacher than Belgian students (Coşkan, Phalet, Güngör & Mesquita, 2016). Consequently, we assume that Turkish and Moroccan youngsters report lower levels of independence with their Belgian school teacher and raise the question whether and how this aspect of self-construal acculturates when these youngsters are exposed to mainstream cultural models and messages in the school environment. Operationalizing cultural exposure in different ways, the current research predict (change in) independence in student-teacher relationships from characteristics of the school environment (school composition, years and tracks) as well as individual characteristics (school language proficiency) as antecedents.

Cultural exposure and culture learning

When immigrant minorities engage in culture learning (Furnham & Bochner, 1982; Searle & Ward, 1990), over time, they can acquire the culture-specific skills they need in order to adapt socio-culturally to the new cultural context. Like social learning, culture learning is required to develop cultural and

social competence in different cultural environments. The process of culture learning starts when a person is exposed to new cultural thoughts, attitudes and behaviors in the course of repeated intercultural interactions in multicultural settings like today's schools, for instance (Masgoret & Ward, 2006).

People's enduring exposure to, and engagement in, a new or different cultural context is associated with acculturative changes in a wide range of behavioral and psychological processes (Ward & Geeraert, 2016). For instance, the more time minorities have spent in the mainstream culture, the more contact they have with mainstream members, and the better their language skills and communication with mainstream members, the more they endorse positive attitudes towards the majority culture (often in conjunction with positive attitudes towards their heritage culture; Ward & Kennedy, 1994; Yağmur & Van de Vijver, 2012), the more similar their personality traits are to the personalities of mainstream cultural members (Güngör et al., 2013), and the more their emotional reactions resembled the reaction patterns that were typical in the majority culture (De Leersnyder et al., 2011; Jasini, De Leersnyder, & Mesquita, 2015). Similarly, a recent study with Turkish minority adults in Belgium found that a higher preference for contact with majority members was associated with a more independent self-construal, which is in line with the Belgian culture of independence (Coşkan, Güngör, De Leersnyder, Mesquita, & Phalet, 2016). Thus, minorities' psychological and behavioral patterns tend to become more similar to mainstream cultural patterns upon increased exposure to and engagement with the majority cultural context.

Mainstream cultural competence is important to the extent that it facilitates the social acceptance of minority members by the majority. For instance, in a longitudinal study in Germany, Belgium and England, Zagefka and her colleagues (2014) found that majority members who perceived more intercultural similarity had more positive attitudes towards minorities' mainstream culture adoption and showed less prejudice against minorities. In turn, minorities who preferred more cultural adoption perceived less prejudice from the majority. Furthermore, fitting in with mainstream cultural patterns is associated with minorities' personal well-being. For instance, the emotional acculturation of immigrant minorities – or the similarity of their emotional experiences with majority emotional patterns – was associated with lower somatic symptomology and thus better self-reported health and well-being (Consedine Chentsova-Dutton, & Krivoshekova, 2014). Last but not least, mainstream culture adoption has been related to better performance outcomes for minorities. Thus, we found that minorities' independent self-

construal in relation to their teacher – which is in line with majority self-construal in Western cultures of independence – enabled better school performance of Turkish youngster in Belgian schools (Coşkan, De Leersnyder, Mesquita, & Phalet, 2016). To sum up, culture learning has psychological benefits for minorities' acceptance, well-being and success in mainstream settings.

Independence in student-teacher relationships

Cross-cultural research has shown cultural differences in the extent to which Western European versus Turkish and Moroccan people emphasize independence in their interactions with others. Although independence and relatedness are complementary human motives which can co-exist within a person (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2005; 2007), different cultural contexts foreground the one or the other motive to varying degrees (Markus, Mullally, & Kitayama, 1997; Shweder & Bourne, 1984; Triandis, 1989). Specifically, Western Europeans, like Belgians, tend to endorse an independent self which values independent decision-making and which is thought of as a self-governing subject (Hmel & Pincus, 2002; Vansteenkiste, Simons, Lens, Sheldon, & Deci, 2004). In contrast, Turkish and Moroccan people, tend to emphasize relatedness over independence (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996; Pouliasi & Verkuyten, 2011). They value interpersonal closeness and warmth and think of the self as socially connected with close others.

In addition to being embedded in cultural contexts, people's self-construal is also embedded in social relationships (Güngör et al., 2015; Markus & Kitayama, 2010; Heine, 2008). For instance, students' self-definition in relation to their school teacher differs from their self-construal in relation to their parents or friends. Our study focuses on student-teacher relationships as a key context of acculturation where the mainstream culture is transmitted and which has long-term consequences for minority outcomes in life. We know that Western European teachers have mainly task-oriented expectations from their students (Pianta, Nimetz, & Bennett, 1997). Moreover, Western European teachers expect their students to be independent and independence is considered a prerequisite to effective teaching and learning at school (Pianta et al.; see also Stephens, Fryberg, Markus, Johnson, & Covarrubias, 2012). Within Western European student-teacher relationships, independence is generally expected and positively rewarded (Leflot, Onghena, & Colpin, 2010; Soenens & Vansteenkiste, 2005). For example, Leflot, Onghena and Colpin (2010) found that teacher autonomy support predicted higher academic self-concept. This is not to say that a close and

warm relationship between teacher and student is unwanted, but independence can be perceived as more crucial in students' developing self-concepts.

In view of the above described cultural differences in self-construal and the demands made by Western European school contexts, it may be challenging for Turkish and Moroccan minority students to live up to expectancies of independence in Western European school contexts (Baysu, Phalet, & Brown, 2011; Andriessen & Phalet, 2002). For example, compared to their majority Belgian peers, Turkish minority students in Belgium as well as Turkish students in Turkey were less independent (and more related) to their teacher (Coskan, Phalet, Güngör, & Mesquita, 2016; Coşkan et al., 2016). Therefore, in the present research, we investigate under which conditions Turkish and Moroccan minority youth learns to be independent in their relationship with their Belgian school teacher.

As a theoretical frame of reference, our starting point is Kağıtçıbaşı's Autonomous and Related Self-Theory. This framework conceives of autonomy and relatedness as distinct motives which can be foregrounded to varying degrees and combined in various ways depending on the cultural and social context of self-construals. Extending this framework to the acculturation context, our focus in this study is on autonomy and the question of its association with acculturation processes in relation to teachers. Additional analyses also explore students' relatedness in relation to teacher. We do not predict a decrease in students' relatedness, however, as relatedness may (or may not) be maintained in combination with autonomous self-construals in acculturating youth.

The role of the school environment

We focus on the acculturation of independence in minority students' relation to their teachers not only because this relationship impacts school adjustment, but also because this relationship context is an important and under-researched acculturation context. In the school context, mainstream cultural norms and behavioral patterns are transmitted, reinforced and reproduced (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Phalet & Schönpflug, 2001). Therefore, we expect cultural learning to take place in the minority student's definition of self in relation to their teacher to the extent that students' are exposed to the majority cultural ideas of independence at school (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Kağıtçıbaşı, 2012). Specifically, we expect that being exposed to a majority Belgian school culture which values and models independent ways of relating to teachers, will predict minorities' culture learning of independence both concurrently and over time.

To study mainstream cultural exposure in the school environment, we used several proxies of opportunities for culture learning in school. A first proxy of exposure to the mainstream school culture is minority students' *year of education* as it indicates how many years students have been exposed to the Belgian school system. In the context of acculturation, there is an amount of evidence on the interplay of normative development and acculturative change in terms of youngsters' autonomy. Longitudinal studies showed that the development of autonomy is more closely associated with normative development (see Titzmann & Silbereisen, 2012 for Soviet immigrant youth in Germany) but other research also signal multiple ways to develop autonomy in acculturative contexts (see Fuligni & Tsai, 2015 for a review). On the other hand, less empirical work is devoted to the role of school context as a situational exposure factor for culture learning (e.g. Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver, 2004). Therefore, in investigating students' year of education, we aim to concentrate on the educational acquaintance with Belgian culture by controlling for the mere effect of age (either as the process of normative developmental track or as the cultural pathway to development). Concretely, we expect that minority students who are enrolled in a higher year of education (e.g., 1st year vs. 2nd or 3rd year of secondary school) will be more independent in relation to their teacher (Hypothesis 1a).

Second, the presence of majority students is essential for minorities to be exposed on a daily basis to the 'appropriate' mainstream cultural ways of relating to school teachers. As an indicator of *ethnic composition* in school we used the variable school stratum – i.e. the proportion of students who speak a foreign language at home which is the administrative information on minority presence in schools). In schools with a higher percentage of majority youth (i.e. stratum 1), minority youth has more opportunities for intercultural contact with majority members (Demanet, Agirdag, & Van Houtte, 2012; Szulkin & Jonsson, 2007). In this way, they will sooner 'learn' how to relate to their teacher in a way that fits with normative independence in the Belgian school culture. Therefore, we hypothesize that minority students who attend a school with more majority peers (i.e. higher stratum[9] will profit from regular exposure to, and interaction with majority Belgian youth, and hence be more independent in relation to their

[9] Educational strata follows a similar hierarchical labeling to the one used for socioeconomic strata: Increasing stratum numbers refer to more minority students and lower majority exposure.

Belgian teacher than students attending a school with less majority peers (e.g., 3rd stratum with > 60% minorities; Hypothesis 1b).

A final proxy for minorities' exposure to independent ways of relating to school teachers in Belgium is the *educational track* they are enrolled in. In the Belgian educational system, students are enrolled in either an academic/vocational track that prepares them for college education, or in a vocational track that prepares them for specific jobs on the labor market. Typically, students with a higher SES background tend to be enrolled in the academic track whereas students with a lower SES background tend to be enrolled in vocational tracks (Fleischmann, Phalet, Deboosere, & Neels, 2012). Given that most families with a Turkish or Moroccan background can be characterized as relatively low SES (Phalet, Deboosere, Bastiaenssen, 2007), the majority of Turkish and Moroccan minority students are enrolled in vocational tracks (Phalet & Heath, 2011). Although track and ethnic composition overlap[10], we may expect a unique effect of being enrolled in academic tracks on students' opportunity for learning independence in relation to their teacher, above and beyond increased opportunities for interaction with majority peers. This is so, because the academic track requires its students to work more independently than the vocational tracks, preparing them for jobs at the higher end of the occupational ladder which would typically enable and require higher degrees of independence (Stephens, Hamedani, & Destin, 2014). In turn, students in academic tracks are more promoted for independent decision making and relying on their own skills rather than their teacher's guidance (Kusserow, 1999). Therefore, we hypothesize that minority students who are enrolled in the academic track, will be more independent in relation to their Belgian teacher than students enrolled in the vocational tracks (Hypothesis 1c).

Language proficiency

In addition to mainstream cultural exposure opportunities for culture learning in the school environment of minority youth, we also examined their Dutch language proficiency as an individual resource (in Flanders, Belgium, the language of interaction is Dutch). From a sociocultural approach to culture learning (John-Steiner & Mahn, 1996; Vygotsky, 1987), mastering the language is key for cultural competence as it enables minorities to be connected to the

[10] Our data showed that the number of vocational track students decreased as the stratum number decreased (74, 36 and 22 vocational students in respectively 4th, 3rd and 1-2nd strata; $\chi^2(2) = 4.94$, $p = .09$).

mainstream culture and to members of the mainstream society. Previous research has found that mastering the mainstream culture's language is indeed a predictor of minorities' higher educational attainment (Heath, Rothon, & Kilpi, 2008) and a range of other acculturation processes (Schumann, 1986). For instance, a large scale study on minority youth in 13 countries yielded a link between mainstream language proficiency and acculturation attitudes, such that youth who were more fluent in the mainstream language endorsed more positive attitudes towards the mainstream culture, thereby endorsing an integrationist rather than separationist) acculturation orientation (Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder (2006). Furthermore, in Canada, Chinese-born bicultural students who were primed with English language used more individualistic words to describe themselves than their peers who were primed with Chinese language (Ross, Xun, & Wilson, 2002). More direct evidence for the connection between second language learning and self, comes from language priming and self-expression research stream. Recent research on the psychological significance of second language has shown that bilinguals' self-expression can be more distancing when they speak in their second language. On the other hand, this distancing tonality can change across relational contexts, especially when bilinguals socialize in their second language (Dewaele, 2013). Similarly, being more proficient in Dutch should thus facilitate minorities' cultural learning of independence. Therefore, we expect that minority students who are more proficient in Dutch, will be more independent in relation to their Belgian teacher (Hypothesis 2)[11].

Ongoing effects of culture learning

We investigate these associations between minorities' independence with their teacher on the one hand and cultural exposure on the other, in a first cross-sectional study (Study 1) and in a longitudinal follow-up study (Study 2) as culture learning implies change over time (see Figure 4.1). Concretely, in Study 2, we follow up on a subsample of Turkish and Moroccan minority students from Study 1 and test for their independence in relation to their teacher one year later.

[11] We had no specific expectations with regard to the association between minorities' heritage language proficiency and independence in relation to their teacher. However, we know that school policies of learning the heritage language simultaneously with learning the mainstream language have no negative effects on acculturation (Agirdag, Jordens, & Van Houtte, 2014; Banting & Kimlycka, 2006; 2012). Exploratory analyses on this relationship for the current samples confirmed no relationship between these two variables (see Table A4.2 in Appendix IV). Therefore, we do not discuss this issue further.

As such, we can test if there are ongoing effects of both cultural exposure at school and students' Dutch language proficiency in year 1 on their independence with their teacher in year 2, while controlling for the level of independence in year 1. We expect that our indices of cultural exposure at school in the first year will also predict independence in this year (Hypothesis 3). Moreover, we expect that minorities' Dutch language proficiency in year 1 will predict the extent to which they are independent with their teacher in the following year (see a review on the longitudinal educational benefits of second language proficiency by Ortega & Iberri-Shea, 2005). Specifically, we expect that being more proficient in Dutch in a previous year would predict increased independence in relation to one's teacher one year later (Hypothesis 4).We expected these hypotheses to hold true across both Turkish and Moroccan minority youth in Belgium. Given that Turkish and Moroccan cultures are similar in terms of their strong religious orientation as well as their emphasis on interdependence (De Valk, 2006; Phalet & Schönpflug, 2001), we did not expect cultural differences in the processes of the acculturation of self-concept. Nevertheless, we explored these cultural differences throughout our analyses.

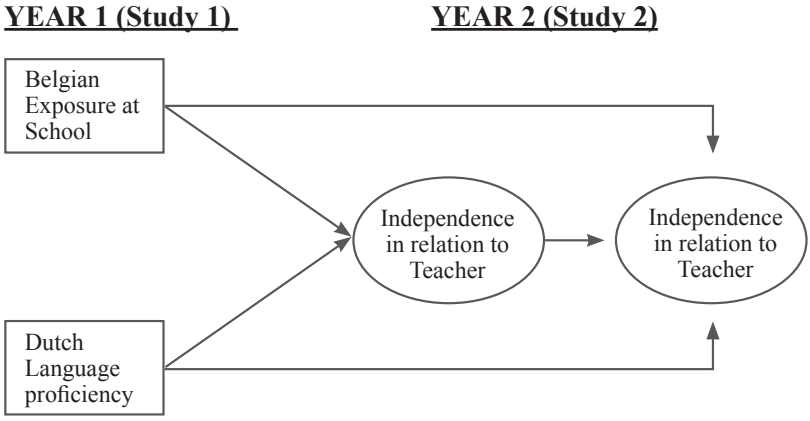

Figure 4.1. The models tested in Study 1 and Study 2.

4.2 Study 1

4.2.1 Method

Participants

Our first study uses a sub-sample of the data from the CILS project in Flanders ('Children of Immigrants longitudinal Study') which surveyed over 5000 students with diverse cultural backgrounds from 70 randomly selected high

schools in Flanders-Belgium (Coşkan, Emonds, Meeus, Meuleman, & Phalet, 2012; Emonds, Meeus, & Meuleman, 2015). The sub-sample for our study consists of Turkish (n = 623) and Moroccan minority (n = 731) students (selected on the basis of self-reported foreign-born parentage) in total with at a range of 1 to 18 students, from 323 classes (1-18 participants within each class), from 64 schools (1-19 classes within each school). Cultural groups were defined by students' self-reported ancestry. They were considered 'minority' if they themselves, one or both of their parents or two of their grandparents were born in Turkey/Morocco. All participants were 1st, 2nd or 3rd year high school students. The Turkish and Moroccan minority groups were similar in terms of age (M_{Turkish} = 15.04; SD_{Turkish} = 1.18; M_{Moroccan} = 15.10; SD_{Moroccan} = 1.29; $t(1290) = .841$, $p = .401$) and gender composition (Turkish = 52.5% boys and Moroccan = 53.9% boys; $\chi^2(1) = .602$, $p = .271$). Less Turkish (32.9%) than Moroccan (47.3%) adolescents were enrolled in academic tracks ($\chi^2(1) = 28.02$, $p < .001$); the rest of the students were enrolled in vocational tracks.

Procedure

The study was introduced as an international survey on European youths' experiences and opinions about their studies, school, and social life. The students themselves, their parents and their teachers were informed about the study and about the participants' right to opt out. This information was provided both during a visit of the researchers to the school preceding the actual study and at the start of the study. The study consisted of several questionnaire and tests packages that were administered in Dutch during students' regular class time. Questionnaires and tests were administered by a research team that consisted of students' own teachers and two trained research assistants. The research team provided students with detailed instructions and offered assistance in filling out the questionnaires if necessary. In a first session (max. 20 minutes), students' completed a questionnaire package that, amongst other things, assessed their social relationships at school, including their self-construals – i.e. independence and relatedness – in relation to their teachers. In a second session, students took a Dutch synonym test (10 minutes) and were then asked about their (subjective) Dutch language proficiency. At the end of the session, students responded to detailed questions about their social and cultural backgrounds.

Measures

Self in Relation to Teacher. To assess students' self-construal in relation to their teachers, we used short indexes[12] from the Relatedness and Independence Scales first developed by Güngör and Phalet (2011; also see Güngör et al., 2016), then contextualized for teacher relationship and cross-culturally validated in Turkish and Belgian student samples by Coşkan et al., (2016). The Independence index which is composed from two items, referred to autonomous decision making vs. dependence in students' relation to teachers. The relatedness index which is composed of two items as well, assessed emotional closeness vs. distance from teachers (see Table 4.1 for the items). The statements were rated on a five-point Likert-type scale (from t*otally disagree to totally agree*). The items referring to dependence and distance were reverse coded so that higher scores always indicate higher levels of independence and relatedness, respectively.

We performed a two-factor Simultaneous Components Analysis (SCA; De Roover, Ceulemans, & Timmerman, 2012) on these four items to test the structural equivalence of the independence and relatedness dimensions across minority groups. In line with existing evidence (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2005), an orthogonally rotated SCA solution yielded two components, one for Independence and one for Relatedness. In addition, it suggested that the two independence and two relatedness items had comparable meanings across Turkish and Moroccan samples, as the total variance explained by the SCA-ECP solution (i.e., Equal Cross-Products; ECP stands for a model with variances and covariances of components restricted to be equal across cultural groups) was not lower than the variance explained by an orthogonally rotated PCA for each sample separately (see Table 4.1, left-hand side for the scale items and percentages explained variance for this study).

[12] As part of the large-scale Youth in Europe Study, we selected the 4 core indicators with highest factor loadings and with lesser semantical overlap to produce composite indices of Independence and Relatedness in student-teacher relationships for Turkish and Moroccan students.

Table 4.1
Separate PCA and SCA-ECP Component Weights for Independence and Relatedness Items

	Study 1						Study 2					
	Turkish minority (%66.07)		Moroccan minority (%67.41)		SCA-ECP (Turkish: % 66.06; Moroccan:% 67.40)		Turkish minority (%65.54)		Moroccan minority (%62.63)		SCA-ECP (Turkish: % 65.43; t :% 62.50)	
Fit Values (Percentage of Explained Variance)	%66.79				%66.78		%64.04				%63.92	
Independence												
I am usually afraid of deciding on my personal issues without consulting my teacher. (-)	.03	**.80**	.04	**.89**	.04	**.86**	-.10	**-.79**	.08	**-.77**	-.03	**-.79**
When I am given a new responsibility, I need my teacher to tell me what I have to do. (-)	-.01	**.80**	-.04	**.89**	-.03	**.86**	.14	**-.73**	.00	**-.79**	.08	**-.75**
Relatedness												
My teacher and I live in different worlds. (-)	**.85**	.08	**.96**	.04	**.91**	.06	**.83**	.05	**.83**	-.02	**.84**	.02
I prefer to keep a certain distance in my relationship with my teacher. (-)	**.85**	-.06	**.94**	-.04	**.90**	-.05	**.82**	-.10	**.79**	-.06	**.83**	-.08

Note. (-) Reverse coded items.

Given 2-item measures, we consider the recent criticism on using inter-item correlations[13] to calculate reliability and, instead, make use of Spearman-Brown's rho (ρ) coefficient (Eisinga, Grotenhuis, & Pelzer, 2013). The Spearman-Brown coefficients were ρ = .44 and ρ = .51 for Independence and ρ = .51 and ρ =.51 for Relatedness, for Turkish and Moroccan minority students, respectively. Although the coefficients are below the traditionally accepted cutoff (ρ > .60), it is not unexpected with two-item measurement difficulty.

Students' mean levels of Independence and Relatedness were above the scale midpoints. While Turkish (M = 2.87, SD = .92) and Moroccan minority students (M = 2.95, SD = .97) had comparable mean scores of Independence $F(1, 1293) = 2.04$, p = .15, Turkish minority students (M = 3.24, SD = .94) scored higher on Relatedness than their Moroccan minority peers (M = 3.09, SD = 1.00; $F(1, 1291) = 7.75$, p = .006).

Cultural exposure at school. We operationalized cultural exposure in terms of i) *educational year*, ii) *school stratum* that indicates the ethnic composition in school (i.e., percentage of minority students based on administrative school data on foreign languages spoken at home), and iii) *educational track*. Educational year of a student indicates years spent in the Belgian education system; rather than the mere effect of aging, educational year denotes increasing exposure to the majority culture with respectively first, second and third year of education. School stratum indicates the schools' specific percentages of immigrant minorities: The first stratum schools composed of a maximum of %30, the second stratum composed of a maximum of %60 and the third stratum composed of more than %60 minority students[14]. For the ease of interpretation in the analyses, the stratum variable was reverse coded such that higher number indicates more exposure to the majority culture at school (i.e., 0 = Third stratum; 1= Second stratum and 2 = First stratum). Finally, educational track differentiates between vocational and academic tracks (respectively coded as 0 and 1), again with the higher number (academic) referring to more exposure to the majority culture.

Language proficiency. We assessed students' Dutch language proficiency in both objective and subjective ways. To measure objective Dutch proficiency, we used a newly constructed the Dutch Synonym Test (Verschueren, Janssen, &

[13] Inter–item correlations: R =.28 (p < .001) and R =.34 (p < .001) for Turkish and Moroccan Independence, respectively, and R = .34 (p < .001) and R = .34 (p < .001) for Turkish and Moroccan Relatedness, respectively.

[14] For more explanation on the stratum variable please see Appendix IV.

Magez, 2012) which was originally based on a subtest from Stinissen's (1969) 'Differentiële Intelligentietest' and the doctoral work of Janssen (Janssen & De Boeck, 1994). As preliminary evidence of convergent validity, scores on the new test correlated with scores on the WISC-III Vocabulary test in an independent sample of secondary-school students (cf. master's thesis Lasisi, 2015). The test was composed of 30 items, all with 1 correct and 3 wrong answers and a mean score was computed. Its internal reliability was appropriate for Turkish (α = .71) and Moroccan (α = .76) minority students.

Additionally, two self-report measures were used to assess students' subjective Dutch proficiency. First, self-reported Dutch language proficiency were computed based on students' indication of how well they think they i) speak, ii) read, iii) write and iv) understand Dutch (from 1 = not well at all to 5 = perfect). This self-reported Dutch proficiency scale had high internal reliabilities for both Turkish (α = .94) and Moroccan (α = .95) students. Second, students reported their Dutch grades from the previous semester. As schools differed in their grading system, students' self-reported grades were rescaled on a 5-point scale. Turkish minority students scored lower on the objective Dutch test and they rated themselves lower in subjective Dutch proficiency than their Moroccan peers; however, both groups reported similar Dutch grades in the previous semester (See Table 4.2).

Control Variables. Students' gender (0 = Boy; 1 = Girl) and age, were controlled for in all analyses. Controlling for students' age is critical to isolate the time wise Belgian exposure effect of students' educational year which is different from growing older.

Table 4.2

Means and Standard Deviations for Objective and Subjective Dutch Language Proficiency

	Turkish minority	Moroccan minority	
Dutch test scores	M = .46, SD = .17 (n = 721)	M = .49, SD = .17 (n = 614)	$F(1, 1334) = 13.33$, $p < .001$
Self-reported Dutch proficiency	M = 3.75, SD = .99 (n = 575)	M = 4.04, SD = 1.08 (n = 649)	$F(1, 1223) = 30.98$, $p < .001$
Self-reported Dutch grades	M = 3.25, SD = .62 (n = 246)	M = 3.30, SD = .61 (n = 215)	$F(1, 460) = .83$, $p = .363$

Analyses

Given the nested nature of our data (i.e., students within classes within schools), we performed multilevel modeling with IGLS estimation (Mlwin, Version 2.29; Rasbash et al., 2000) to test our hypotheses about the association between cultural exposure and minority students' Independence in relation to their Belgian teacher. The data fit the nested structure better than a model that did not include multiple levels, $\chi^2(2) = 7.55$, $p = .02$. However, the partitioning of the variances (VPC[15]) indicated that both the school-level (2%) and class-level (3%) variances were non-significant. Nearly all variance is thus situated at the individual level (95%). Considering the nested nature of the data, we applied multilevel modeling without specifying any effects at the higher levels. To test our hypotheses about the effect of exposure to the majority school culture on minorities' independence in relation to their teacher, we estimated the fixed effects of educational year (Hypothesis 1a), stratum (Hypothesis 1b) and educational track (Hypothesis 1c) at the individual level. To test our hypothesis about Dutch language proficiency, we estimated fixed effects of Dutch test scores (Hypothesis 2a), self-reported Dutch proficiency (Hypothesis 2b) and self-reported Dutch Grades (Hypothesis 2c) at the individual level.

For all analyses, we used a stepwise model testing strategy, starting with Model 1 (Null Model), adding the individual-level control variables in Model 2 (Gender, Age), and testing the hypothesized main effects from Model 3 onwards. To confirm hypotheses 1a, 1b and 1c that being in a higher educational year, being in school with more majority peers (i.e., higher stratum) and being in the academic track helps minority students to define themselves more independently in relation to their teacher, the net effects of these variables on independence should be significant after taking into account age and gender (Model 3). Finally, to test set of Hypotheses 2 that Dutch language proficiency is positively associated with minority students' level of independence in relation to their teacher, we added Dutch test scores (Model 4a), self-reported Dutch proficiency (Model 4b), and self-reported Dutch Grades (Model 4c) in separate models as the overlap between measures are high given they all measure different but closely related facets of Dutch proficiency. In other words, Models 4a, 4b and 4c are not nested models with each other; however, each of them is nested to Model 3. To confirm

[15] VPC is also referred to as intraclass coefficient (ICC; Rasbash, Browne, Goldstein, Yang et al., 2000).

H2 that Dutch language proficiency helps minority students to define themselves more independently in relation to their teacher, the net effect of Dutch test score, self-reported Dutch proficiency or self-reported Dutch grades on independence should be significant after taking into account age, gender as controls and stratum, educational year and educational track. For each model, we first consider its significant improvement over the previous model (i.e. model fit) and then test the net effects of the variables of interest with univariate Wald tests.

4.2.2 Results

Descriptive statistics

Table 4.3 presents the bivariate correlations of all constructs for Turkish and Moroccan minority students.

Testing the role of exposure to the Belgian culture at school

A model including all control variables significantly increased the percentage of explained variance over the null model by 1%: Independence in relation to teacher was higher for older Turkish and Moroccan minority students than for younger ones, but did not differ across boys and girls (See Table 4.4, Model 2). Next, a model including educational year, stratum and educational track (Model 3) significantly increased explained variance by 1% over and above a model that included control variables only. In line with hypothesis 1a, minority students who are on their third year of education had higher levels of independence in relation to teacher than their peers on first year of education. Moreover, confirming hypothesis 1b, first stratum minority students were found to be more independent in relation to their teacher compared to third stratum minority students; there were no significant differences between minorities enrolled in second and third stratum schools. Finally, minority students enrolled in the academic track were more independent in relation to their teacher compared to minority students enrolled in the vocational track, thereby confirming hypothesis 1c. All three indicators of exposure to the Belgian culture at school were thus significantly and positively associated with minority students' independence in relation to their teacher.

Table 4.3

Bivariate *Correlations among Study 1 Variables*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Gender	-											
2. Age	.01	-										
3. Education year	.02	.74**	-									
4. Stratum	.06*	-.00	.08**	-								
5. Educational track	.02	-.39**	-.52**	.07*	-							
6. Minority group	.01	-.02	.05	.15**	.05	-						
7. Independence	.01	.10**	.15**	.08**	-.04	-.04	-					
8. Relatedness	.12**	-.04	-.03	-.01	-.02	.08**	.02	-				
9. Dutch test scores	-.05	.10**	.19**	.10**	.14**	-.10**	.22**	-.01	-			
10. Self-report Dutch grades	-.01	-.15**	-.13**	-.05	-.08	-.04	.07	-.05	.02	-		
11. Self-report Dutch proficiency	.06*	.00	.027	.03	.05	-.16**	.06*	.03	.21**	.10*	-	
12. Self-report heritage language proficiency	-.05	.03	-.00	.02	.05	.21**	-.03	.03	-.09*	.04	.25**	-

Note. Gender: 0 = Boys, 1 = Girls; Education year: 1 = 1st Year, 2 = 2nd Year, 3 = 3rd Year; Stratum: 0 = Third stratum, 1 = Second stratum, 2 = First stratum; Educational track: 0 = Vocational track, 1 = Academic tracks; Minority group: 0 = Moroccan minority, 1 = Turkish minority.* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

Testing the role of Dutch language proficiency

To predict students' independence in relation to their Flemish teachers by Dutch language proficiency beyond the role of majority school culture, we added students' Dutch language Test scores (Model 4a), self-reported Dutch proficiency (Model 4b) and self-reported Dutch grades (Model 4c) separately in a more complex model (see Table 4.4). The addition of Dutch language proficiency indicators significantly increased the variance each time (by 3%, 1% and %9 respectively for Dutch test, self-reported Dutch proficiency and Dutch Grades). As expected, minority students who had higher scores in Dutch test, who reported better Dutch proficiency and Dutch grades were more independent in relation to their teacher.

Table 4.4

Study 1 Models on Independence with Belgian Exposure in School and Objective Dutch Proficiency

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4a	Model 4b	Model 4c
Fixed Part: Intercept	2.944 (.035)***	2.949 (.043)***	2.731 (.077)***	2.824 (.077)***	2.741 (.084)***	2.802 (.089)***
Gender		-.016 (.055)	.005 (.053)	.023 (.052)	-.034 (.056)	.069 (.089)
(reference: Boys)		.071 (.043)*	.015 (.032)	.023 (.031)	.009 (.033)	.068 (.053)
Education year						
(reference: 1st year)						
2nd year			.005 (.079)	-.031 (.077)	.011 (.082)	-.037 (.127)
3rd year			.267 (.097)**	.189 (.096)*	.301 (.100)**	.237 (.160)†
Stratum						
(reference: 3rd Stratum)						
2nd Stratum			-.054 (.059)	-.048 (.057)	-.058 (.066)	.183 (.124)†
1st Stratum			.187 (.079)**	.144 (.077) *	.178 (.084)*	-.065 (.114)
Educational track						
(reference: Vocational)			.113 (.056)*	.018 (.057)	.103 (.060)*	.092 (.097)
Academic track				1.067 (.162)***	.048 (.027)*	.170 (.074)**
Dutch proficiency						
Random part:						
Residual variances						
School level	.017 (.012)	.015 (.011)	.000 (.000)	.000 (.000)	.003 (.007)	.012 (.016)
Class level	.026 (.020)	.011 (.018)	.008 (.016)	.000 (.000)	.007 (.018)	.000 (.000)
Individual level	.856 (.037)***	.860 (.038)***	.854 (.037)***	.829 (.033)***	.843 (.039)***	.778 (.054)***
Explained variance on individual level	95%	97%	99%	100%	99%	99%
Model fit						
Number of parameters	4	6	9	10	10	10
-2*LL (IGLS)	3526.097	3426.589	3382.592	3294.802	3066.713	1144.398
$\Delta\chi^2$		99.508***	43.997***	87.790***	315.879***	2238.194***

Note. Gender: 0 = Boys, 1 = Girls; Education year: 1 = 1st Year, 2 = 2nd Year, 3 = 3rd Year; Stratum: 0 = Third stratum, 1 = Second stratum, 2 = First stratum; Educational track: 0 = Vocational track, 1 = Academic tracks.

Unstandardized coefficients B and standard errors are provided; † $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Additional analyses: acculturation and relatedness

To predict students' relatedness with their teacher, we ran additional analyses regressing relatedness on the same proxies of actual acculturation (i.e., educational year, stratum, educational track and Dutch language proficiency). The analyses yielded non-significant results (see Table 4.5), indicating that neither exposure to the Belgian school culture nor mainstream language proficiency predicted relatedness.

Our results provide preliminary evidence that (1) the more minority students are exposed to the mainstream Belgian school culture, and (2) the better they master Dutch (in both objective and subjective terms), the higher their levels of independence in relation to their teacher. However, given the cross-sectional nature of Study 1, the implications are limited. To overcome this constraint, Study 2 has a longitudinal design that can test the above outlined associations over time. Specifically, Study 2 consists of a subsample of Turkish and Moroccan minority students from Study 1 that we tested one year later. In this way, we can test the ongoing effects of the same indices of exposure to the Belgian culture at school and students' Dutch language test in year 1 on their independence with their teacher in year 2, while controlling for their independence in year 1.

Table 4.5
Models on Relatedness with Exposure to Belgian Culture and Objective Dutch Proficiency

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Fixed Part:						
Intercept	3.158 (.034)***	3.049 (.041)***	3.074 (.076)***	3.091 (.081)***	3.088 (.087)***	3.090 (.089)***
Gender (reference: Boys)		.241 (.056)***	.238 (.056)***	.241 (.056)***	.241 (.056)***	.231 (.056)***
Age		-.034 (.024)†	-.033 (.033)	-.033 (.033)	-.033 (.033)	-.031 (.033)
Education year						
2nd year vs. 1st year			-.059 (.089)	-.059 (.089)	-.060 (.089)	-.065 (.090)
3rd year vs. 1st year			-.009 (.106)	-.009 (.107)	-.009 (.107)	-.005 (.108)
Stratum						
3rd Stratum vs. 2nd Stratum				-.040 (.070)	-.041 (.070)	-.043 (.070)
3rd Stratum vs. 1st Stratum				-.015 (.087)	-.017 (.089)	-.021 (.090)
Educational track						
Academic vs. Vocational track						-.081 (.172)
Objective Dutch Proficiency						
Random Part: Residual variances						
School Level	.008 (.010)	.000 (.000)	.000 (.000)	.000 (.000)	.000 (.000)	.000 (.000)
Class Level	.058 (.024)*	.067 (.023)*	.067 (.023)	.065 (.023)	.065 (.023)	.066 (.023)
Individual Level	.882 (.039)***	.864 (.039)***	.866 (.039)***	.867 (.039)***	.867 (.039)***	.862 (.039)***
Explained variance on Individual Level	93%	93%	93%	93%	93%	93%
Model fit						
Number of Parameters	4	6	7	8	9	10
-2*LL (IGLS)	3585.986	3475.358	3464.441	3464.111	3464.104	3417.606
$\Delta\chi^2$		108.628***	10.607**	.330	.007	46.498***

Note. Gender: 0 = Boys, 1 = Girls; Stratum: 1= Third stratum, 2= Second stratum, 3 = First stratum; Educational Track: 0 = Vocational Track, 1 = Academic Tracks. Unstandardized coefficients B and standard errors are provided. † $p < .10$, *$p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

4.3 Study 2

4.3.1 Method

Participants

Study 2 was a one-year follow-up study for a supsample of 193 Turkish and 216 Moroccan minority students in the CILS project ('Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study') in Flanders (30% of the 1353 participants of Study 1; see introductory introductory chapter for more information on response rates and longitudinal attrition). Students in the longitudinal subsample were nested in 141 classes (1-11 participants in each class) in 36 schools (1-9 classes in each school). Note that only a subsample of the total wave 1 sample of Turkish and Moroccan minority students in Study 1 could be followed up at the time of my data analysis for this chapter[16]. The data collection procedure was the same as in Study 1. Now, students were enrolled in the 1st, 2nd, 3rd or 4th year of high school, with 28 (7%) students repeating their previous education year and 25 (6%) students not indicating their educational year in the second year data collection. In terms of age, Turkish (M = 15.97; SD = 1.20) and Moroccan minority students (M = 15.89; SD = 1.31) were similar ($t(383) = -.64$, $p = .526$). In terms of gender, the distribution was balanced for both Turkish (46.3% boys) and Moroccan minority students (50.5% boys), and did not differ across the two groups ($\chi^2(1) = .70$, $p = .404$). Most of these students that could be reached for this follow-up study were enrolled in the academic track (65.6% Turkish minorities; 66.8% Moroccan minorities).

Measures

All measures were identical to those used in Study 1 (see Table 4.1, right-hand side for the self-construal items and percentages explained variance for this study). Additionally, minority youth's Independence in relation to teacher in this second year was measured anew. Spearman-Brown coefficients for students' second year Independence in relation to teacher were better than the previous year but still on the margin with $\rho = .54$ and $\rho = .58$, respectively for Turkish and Moroccan minority students[17].

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[16] The longitudinal analyses will be replicated with the full sample as soon as the complete longitudinal data from the CILS project will be made available.

[17] Inter–item correlations: R =.37 ($p < .001$) and R =.41 ($p < .001$) for Turkish and Moroccan Independence, respectively.

Analyses

The 3-level nested structure did not yield significant school and class level variance. However, in parallel reasoning to Study 1, we preserved the nested nature of the data and thus opted for a multilevel analysis. We entered the control variables and the predictors in the same order as in Study 1. Different from Study 1, we added first year Independence as a control variable together with students' gender and age (Model 1). Then, educational year (Hypothesis 3a), school stratum (Hypothesis 3b) and educational track (Hypothesis 3c) in year 1 were regressed on students' independence in year 2 to test whether first year exposure to the Belgian culture still predicts students' independence in relation to their teacher. Afterwards we tested whether Dutch language test scores, the objective indicator of Dutch language proficiency in the previous year still predicted students' independence in relation to their teacher in the second year (Hypothesis 4).

4.3.2 Results

Descriptive statistics

In the second year, we could follow up a total of 409 Turkish and Moroccan minority students from 36 schools with less than 5 students in 14 schools. The bivariate correlations of all constructs for Turkish and Moroccan minority students are presented in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6

Correlations between Study 2 Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Gender	_								
2. Age	.01	_							
3. Education year at Year1	.00	.77**	_						
4. School Stratum	.04	-.11*	.00	_					
5. Educational Track at Year1	-.10	-.13*	-.10*	.11*	_				
6. Minority group	.04	.03	.08	.18**	-.01	_			
7. Independence at Year 1	-.01	.09	.13*	.06	.02	-.11*	_		
8. Independence at Year2	.04	.06	.07	-.06	.13**	-.04	.28**	_	
9. Dutch test scores at Year 1	-.12*	.11*	.23**	.03	.27**	-.12*	.20**	.17**	_

Note. Gender: 0 = Boys, 1 = Girls; Education year: 1 = 1st Year, 2 = 2nd Year, 3 = 3rd Year; Stratum: 0 = Third stratum, 1 = Second stratum, 2 = First stratum; Educational track: 0 = Vocational track, 1 = Academic tracks; Minority group: 0 = Moroccan minority, 1 = Turkish minority.
* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

Testing the longitudinal effect of exposure to the Belgian culture at school

To test the effect of first year cultural exposure in school on minority students' independence in the next year, we first included students' first year independence in relation to teacher as well as their age and gender as control variables (see Table 4.7, Model 2). Compared to the null model, Model 2 had a significantly better fit, yet only the effect of Independence with teacher in the previous year was significant. In a subsequent model, we added educational year, school stratum and educational track (Model 3). Compared to the model that included control variables only (Model 2), the addition of cultural exposure variables significantly increased the explained variance by 3% (leading to a total explained variance of 99%). An inspection of the estimates yielded that, compared to first grade minority students, second grade minority students had higher levels of independence in relation to teacher, thereby confirming hypothesis 3a. Moreover, we found that minority students in the first stratum were less independent[18] in relation to their teachers in their second year than their peers in the third stratum, thereby rejecting hypothesis 3b. Minority students from third and second stratum were similarly independent from their teachers in the second year. Finally, we found evidence for Hypothesis 3c as minority students who were enrolled in an academic track in the previous year were more independent in relation to their teacher in the following year than their peers who were enrolled in a vocational track. Thus, two out of three indicators of minorities' exposure to the Belgian culture at school are significantly and positively associated with their independence in relation to their teacher the next year, even after controlling for their levels of independence in the previous year.

[18] The lagged negative effect of school stratum on independence one year later is significant with and without independence time 1 as control.

Table 4.7

Study 2 Models on Second Year Independence with Belgian exposure in School and Objective Dutch Proficiency

	Model 1	**Model 2**	**Model 3**	**Model 4**
Fixed Part:				
Intercept	3.507 (.050)***	3.460 (.053)***	3.191 (.136)***	3.355 (.145)***
First year independence with teacher		.314 (.053)***	.329 (.053)***	.308 (.055)***
Gender (reference: Boys)		.084 (.092)	.134 (.090)†	.085 (.092)
Age		.021 (.037)	-.012 (.056)	-.018 (.057)
Education year (reference: 1st year)				
2nd year			.207 (.136)†	.145 (.142)
3rd year			.150 (.168)	.068 (.176)
Stratum (reference: 3rd stratum)				
2nd stratum			-.077 (.108)	-.077 (.113)
1st stratum			-.204 (.116)*	-.217 (.120)*
Educational track (reference: Vocational) Academic track			.289 (.097)***	.186 (.106)*
Dutch proficiency (objective)				.595 (.294)*
Random part: Residual variances				
School level	.000 (.017)	.002 (.016)	.000 (.000)	.000 (.000)
Class level	.042 (.043)	.015 (.038)	.000 (.000)	.008 (.033)
Individual level	.829 (.067)***	.754 (.064)***	.734 (.054)***	.710 (.062)***
Explained variance on individual level	95%	98%	99%	99%
Model fit				
Number of parameters	4	7	10	11
-2*LL (IGLS)	1100.091	963.476	942.945	874.644
$\Delta\chi^2$		136.615***	20.531**	68.301***

Note. Gender: 0 = Boys, 1 = Girls; Education year: 1 = 1st Year, 2 = 2nd Year, 3 = 3rd Year; Stratum: 0 = Third stratum, 1 = Second stratum, 2 = First stratum; Educational track: 0 = Vocational track, 1 = Academic tracks.
Unstandardized coefficients B and standard errors are provided; †$p < .10$, *$p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Testing the long-term contribution of first year Dutch language proficiency

To test the ongoing effect of objective Dutch proficiency in the first year on being independent in relation to teacher in the second year (Hypothesis 4), we added students' Dutch test scores in the first year in our analyses (see Table 4.7, Model 4). This model had significantly better fit than the model that only included the three indicators of cultural exposure. Compared to the model that included cultural exposure indicators only (Model 3), the addition of Dutch test scores significantly increased the explained variance by 3%. As expected, minority students' first year Dutch test score was significantly and positively associated with their independence in relation to their teacher in the second year, after controlling for educational year, stratum, educational track, gender, age, and independence in the previous year. Thus, minority students who had higher scores in Dutch Synonym test in the first year were significantly more independent in relation to their Belgian teacher in the second year.

Overall, these results suggest that more cultural exposure in terms of being enrolled in an academic track and being in a higher educational year, and mastering the majority language better, have a long-lasting effect on minority students' independence in relation to their Belgian teacher in the next year. On the other hand, being in a school with more majority Belgian peers in the previous year has the opposite effect contrary to our hypothesis as well as contrary to Study 1 results.

4.4 Discussion

The current research aimed to investigate how acculturating youth come to adopt an independent self-construal in the context of cross-cultural student-teacher relationships. Building on a cultural psychology approach to acculturation and a sociocultural approach to culture learning, we argued that important aspects of minority students' self-concept, such as independence in relation to their teacher, may be a function of the their exposure to the mainstream culture and their mastery of the mainstream culture's language. From a cultural psychological framework on differences in self-construal (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2005; Markus & Kitayama, 1991), we posited that the basic challenge for Turkish and Moroccan minority students in Belgium is to master independence in school, as the Belgian culture foregrounds independence in defining the self, whereas this is not the case in Turkish and Moroccan culture (Coşkan et al., 2016). In the current research, we

tested the conditions under which Turkish and Moroccan minority students may develop an independent self in relation to their Belgian teacher. Specifically, we examined how cultural exposure to the mainstream culture and the mainstream language proficiency impacts minorities' independent self in relation to their school teachers.

In Study 1, we focused on the cross-sectional associations between minorities' independence in relation to their teacher on the one hand and both opportunities for mainstream cultural exposure at school and Dutch language proficiency as an individual facilitator of culture learning on the other hand. Both sets of variables serve as proxies for the extent to which minorities are exposed to, and are thus familiar with the Belgian school culture that requires its students to be independent. We intended to capture mainstream cultural exposure at school by including i) students' *year at school*, with each year in school representing more opportunities for cultural exposure and thus cultural learning; ii) possibility for cultural contact (i.e., *ethnic composition* in school as indicated by school stratum), with schools composed of lower percentage of minority students providing more opportunities for mainstream cultural contact/exposure and thus more culture learning at school, and iii) students' educational *track*, with the academic track promoting much more independence and hence providing more opportunities for cultural learning of independence than the vocational track. As the individual factor that facilitates cultural learning of independence, we focused on minorities' mainstream language proficiency, that is, Dutch proficiency. In Study 2, we investigated the ongoing effects of these indicators of culture learning on minority students' independent self in relation to their teacher one year later, after controlling for their levels of independence in the previous year. As such, we provide not only cross-sectional evidence for the conditions under which students may become independent (Study 1), but also longitudinal evidence for the acculturation of minorities' independent self upon their cultural exposure and language proficiency in the previous year (Study 2).

To test our hypotheses we made use of the large-scale CILS survey of Turkish and Moroccan minority youth and their majority classmates in lower secondary schools in Belgium (Emonds et al., 2015). The pattern of findings was largely consistent with our expectations. Confirming the importance of sociocultural factors in setting the scene for culture learning, and supporting Hypotheses 1 and 3, Turkish and Moroccan minority students' educational year, school ethnic composition and academic track predicted increased independence

in relation to their teacher. Furthermore, confirming the role of second language learning in the context of acculturation, and supporting Hypotheses 2 and 4, Turkish and Moroccan minority students' Dutch proficiency predicted increased independence in relation to their teacher. Although the explained variances were quite small for all effects, we have confidence in our findings given their consistency across i) the different indicators of cultural exposure and Dutch language proficiency and ii) the different waves of data-collection.

Current findings

Our findings contribute to understanding culture learning, in terms of mastering independence in school, in several ways. First, the effect of educational year on minorities' independent self-construal appeared in both studies (on the third year compared to the first year only in Study 1 and on the 2nd year compared to the 1st year in Study 2), suggesting an accumulative effect of exposure to the Belgian culture in school. It can be argued that the motive for independence is a developmental challenge for this age group (e.g. Keller & Kärtner, 2013). From a cultural psychological perspective, one should also bear in mind the possibility for multiple and evolving developmental pathways which would postulate different developmental trends in different cultural contexts (Shweder et al., 1998). Therefore the current studies aimed to isolate the effect of staying in school by controlling for students' age. This is in line with previous work showing the benefits of staying in the school (Baysu & Phalet, 2012) as well as negative outcomes such as reproduced social inequalities, unemployment, and lower cultural competence in the case of leaving school early (Nouwen, Clyq, Braspenningx, & Timmerman, 2014; Ross & Leathwood, 2013). Nevertheless, our deduction remains limited as we did not investigate the effect of grade repetition: it can be argued that only successful and positive school years would increase culture learning of independence beyond the mere effect of cultural exposure.

School ethnic composition (i.e., being in schools with less minority students) was related to more independence in relation to teachers for minority students in Study 1. In other words, being educated together with majority peers predicted mastery of (more independent) mainstream cultural models of relating to one's teacher. However, this association is not replicated by the longitudinal findings. Therefore, the association between our measures of mainstream cultural exposure and independent self-construal is strictly cross-sectional. As we suggest to increase minorities' possibilities for being surrounded with majority Belgian

peers, we wish to emphasize the importance of the increased possibility for intercultural contact rather than that we believe that assimilation or the dominance of the majority culture in school is beneficial. For example, in their multinational European study, Baysu and de Valk (2012) found that when minority students have friends from the mainstream culture, they have increased chances to be enrolled in the academic track that usually ends with university attendance. Therefore, our finding on the role of having more majority Belgian peers in school speaks to the extant literature on the negative impact of segregated school systems on important outcomes for minorities, ranging from school success, over interethnic contact, to adjustment and psychological well-being (Agirdag, Van Houtte, & Van Avermaet, 2012a; 2012b; Musterd, 2005; Szulkin & Jonsson, 2007).

Our findings also showed that academic tracks (compared to vocational tracks) provide minority students with more opportunities to master independence in relation to their teacher. In line with the idea that students in academic tracks are encouraged more to think independently and to be independent in decision making, we found that they indeed show higher levels of independence in relation to their teacher. However, students' enrollment in the academic versus vocational track is linked to their socio-economical class, with most of the students from high and mid socio-economic background being enrolled in an academic track, and most of the working-class students being enrolled in a vocational track (Hindriks, Verschelde, Rayp, & Schoors, 2010). As most of the Turkish and Moroccan minority students have parents or grandparents with a working class background, being enrolled in an academic track is relatively rare for them. However, *if* they are enrolled in the academic track, it provides an excellent opportunity for minority students to learn the cultural ways of being independent at school.

Finally, and most importantly, the current studies found that mainstream language learning is critical for Turkish and Moroccan minority students in learning the Belgian cultural model of having relationships with teachers and, hence, mastering independence at school. Specifically, we found that as minority students' Dutch language proficiency increased, they tended to define themselves as more independent in relation to their teacher. Furthermore, this effect was found to persist over the course of one year: In their second year, Turkish and Moroccan students' Dutch proficiency in the previous year continued to predict their independence. Therefore, this finding not only echoes the extant research on the importance of mainstream language proficiency in adapting to the mainstream culture but it also suggests that, from a symbolic interactionist perspective, the

triad of culture, language and self can be a touchstone in understanding the underlying processes of acculturation. The very well-known Whorf-Sapire hypothesis is extensively confirmed in cultural studies of psycholinguistics in that the language a person uses shape his/her world and affects his/her cognition (e.g., Marian & Kaushanskaya, 2004; Ross et al., 2002;). For instance, Russian-English bilinguals' language of narration affected the cultural salience of their autobiographical narratives such that when they narrated their memories in Russian versus in English, the memories contained more interdependent versus independent) elements, respectively (Marian & Kaushanskaya, 2004). The mutual constitution of culture and self (Markus & Kitayama, 2010) is thus not isolated from receiving and performing language in the context of acculturation.

To conclude, our results suggest that cultural exposure to the Belgian school culture and Dutch proficiency impact Turkish and Moroccan minorities' independent self in relation to school teachers. These findings are important as our previous research has shown that minority students' cultural competence in being independent in relation to their teacher was associated with adaptation in school – a suggestion also emphasized by Kağıtçıbaşı (2012) who has researched long-term socio-cultural competence and adaptation in children of internal migrants in Turkey.

Towards a cultural psychological understanding of integration

A possible criticism on the interpretations outlined above, might be that the shown effects may be related to the general quality of student-teacher relationships rather than to processes of culture learning. However, if that were the case, not only minority students' *independence,* but also their *relatedness* in relation to their teacher should be contingent on the same predictors. To rule out this possible alternative explanation, additional analyses employed the same stepwise multi-level model procedure as the one used to test the predictors' effects on independence, yet now testing their effects on relatedness. The non-significant results suggest that Turkish and Moroccan minority students' relatedness with teacher was unrelated to both Belgian cultural exposure and Dutch language proficiency. By implication, mastering independence does not preclude maintaining relatedness in relation to teacher.

That relatedness is isolated from mainstream culture learning supports our stance against an assimilationist framework. To posit that mainstream culture learning helps minority students to master independence is *not* to posit that

minorities' behaviors and psychological tendencies come to completely assimilate to those that are typical for the mainstream cultural context. To the contrary, we expect that, similarly to the case of acculturation attitudes (Berry, 2003; Ryder et al., 2000; Sam & Berry, 2010), minorities acquire some psychological characteristics of the new mainstream culture (e.g., mastering the second language; being independent in relation to their teacher) while simultaneously maintaining some characteristics of their heritage culture (e.g. continuing to learn heritage language; being related to their teachers). In fact, this pattern of 'integrating' aspects of both cultures has often been associated with better school-adjustment among minority students (Agirdag, 2014; Vedder & Virta, 2005). For instance, in our own study on the links between Turkish minority youth's patterns of self in relation to their teacher and school outcomes, we found that the more students defined themselves as independent in relation to their teacher, the more they had higher grades and were engaged at school. However, importantly, these associations *only* held true if the minority students were simultaneously highly related to their teacher and thus embodied an 'integrationist' pattern of self (Coşkan et al., 2016).

Further support for this integrationist rather than assimilationist framework on the acculturation of self in school, is situated in the nonsignificant links between minority students' levels of independence in relation to their teacher and their mastery of their heritage language, which is either Turkish, Arabic or Amazigh (Berber; see Appendix IV). In other words, Turkish and Moroccan minority students' heritage language is not a blockage on the route to master independence. On a different note, this finding speaks against the idea that minority students' heritage language in Belgian schools should be penalized and suggests that this practice is probably not that functional or even dysfunctional (as it may create reactance and resistance to learn the mainstream culture; Agirdag et al., 2014).

Limitations and Future Directions

The current research is not without limitations. First, we wish to acknowledge that our indicators of cultural exposure are not the most direct ones. Indeed, we did not measure cultural exposure directly, such as through friendship networks. Of course, friendships may be crucial in the acculturation processes. Yet, we here wished to capture the effect of 'mere' exposure to the majority culture, regardless of the minority students' (non-)active involvement in it through friendships. As our findings indicate that more exposure to the

majority culture is associated with more culture learning of independence, we could expect that minorities' involvement in cross-cultural friendships is an even stronger predictor of cultural learning. Indeed, while we argued that having more majority Belgian students might be beneficial to increase culture learning, a possible drawback is increased discrimination in intergroup friendships (Celeste, Meeussen, Verschueren, & Phalet, in press). Secondly, we did not consider the possible deteriorating effects of majority students' attitudes towards their minority peers (i.e. ethnic discrimination in school). We recognize that when minorities' come to adopt the mainstream cultural ways, this can provoke negative attitudes and discrimination by majority members. For instance, it has been found that the highest identity threat is experienced by minority students who identify themselves with the mainstream culture (as well as with the heritage culture; (e.g., Baysu et al., 2011). Future research may want to study the interplay of majority students' acculturation attitudes towards their minority peers and the cultural learning of independence by minorities themselves.

Similarly, our research did not also include the possible moderating role of a welcoming school climate in minority youths mastering of independence in relation to their teachers. The administrative and educational personnel as well as school policies and rules, are crucial to construct a welcoming mainstream culture, which may, in turn, benefit cultural learning. For example, mutual trust and a good quality teacher-student relationship may enhance intercultural contact in school for minority students. Similarly pupils' school belongingness is an important motivator to consolidate bonds for intercultural encounters. Hence, future research may study the interplay of culture learning of independence with affective dynamics in the school system such as the positivity of student-teacher relationships, teacher support and school belonging.

Conclusion

The goal of this research was to understand the conditions under which minorities can come to master independence in relation to their teacher in a proximal acculturation context (i.e. school context). The results of both our cross-sectional (Study 1) and longitudinal (Study 2) studies show that minorities' cultural exposure to the Belgian school context as well as their Dutch language proficiency is associated with higher independence in relation to their teacher. The school adjustment of Turkish and Moroccan minority youth in Western Europe is an important issue in acculturation research: Turkish and Moroccan minorities'

school adjustment problems have often been linked to their limited mastery of the school language and poor academic performance (e.g., Motti-Stefanidi, Masten, & Asendorpf, 2015). The extent to which minorities feel good and do well in school can be a strong indicator of acculturative adaptation and may have long-lasting consequences for their future life chances in the mainstream society. Therefore, it crucial to enhance our understanding of which factors play a role in creating or sustaining this achievement and belonging gap. Previous research indicated that being independent in relation to one's teacher is not only an expectation held by the Belgian mainstream cultural context, but is also associated with pupils achievement at school, such that higher independence is associated with better school adjustment and higher grades, especially when minorities also experience relatedness with their teacher (Coşkan et al., 2016). The current research, then, documents the conditions under which Turkish and Moroccan minority students may come to master independence in their Belgian schools. By suggesting to sustain minorities' stay in the school system, to bypass early school tracking, to increase possibilities for inter-cultural contact and to ameliorate Dutch language proficiency, the current studies pave the way to increase minorities' acculturative adaptation at school.

CHAPTER 5

Relatedness and Independence in Acculturating Youth: Cultural Differences in Self-Construal and Consequences for Engagement and Achievement

This chapter will be revised and resubmitted to the European Journal of Social Psychology in collaboration with Jozefien De Leersnyder*, Batja Mesquita* and Karen Phalet *

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5.1 Introduction

The way persons make sense of past and new experiences and define the self differ between cultural groups (Markus & Kitayama, 2010). A broad distinction between rather individualistic cultural codes (in North America and Western Europe) and more collectivistic cultural codes (in East and West Asia) reflects different culturally valued ways of being and relating to others (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2007; Markus, Mullally, & Kitayama, 1997). Extensive cross-cultural research revealed that people in relatively individualistic cultural contexts consider themselves essentially as individually bounded entities and as separate from others. Their self-definition centers around individual choices and competencies; and they derive self-esteem from the pursuit of personal goals. People in relatively collectivistic cultural contexts, in contrast, see themselves primarily as socially embedded and interconnected with others. Their self-definition is anchored in binding ties with close others; and the self is ideally attuned to close others' needs and wishes (Iyengar & Lepper, 1999; Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996; Markus & Kitayama, 2003). While earlier research defined cultural differences in terms of either interdependent or independent selves (Markus & Kitayama, 1991), we conceive of cultural differences in self-construal in terms of the relative importance of relatedness and independence (Coşkan, Phalet, Güngör & Mesquita, 2016; Kağıtçıbaşı, 2007). This conceptualization acknowledges that relatedness and independence reflect complementary and coexisting human tendencies across cultural groups. It allows for a more nuanced understanding of cultural variability so that either related or independent self-aspects are more often foregrounded or more chronically salient in social relationships in relatively collectivistic or individualistic cultural contexts respectively. Continuing large-scale migration from collectivistically oriented to individualistically oriented cultural contexts raises the key question how acculturating persons negotiate the self in social contacts with the mainstream culture? To address this question, we extend known cultural differences in self-construal to acculturation contexts. *Our twofold research aim is to examine how relatedness and independence (a) differ between acculturating (rather collectivistic) minority and mainstream (rather individualistic) majority groups; and (b) how they jointly predict adjustment outcomes in acculturating youth.*

When families migrate from a relatively collectivistic cultural context to a relatively individualistic culture, they bring their distinct cultural heritage

to the new social environment; and they pass on this cultural heritage to the next generation. As a consequence, the children of immigrants grow up with a more collectivistic heritage cultural background, while also engaging in daily social contacts with mainstream variant of individualism (Sam & Berry, 2010). As they combine elements from both cultural resources in their social relations, for instance in family and school contexts, acculturating youth are inhabiting bicultural social worlds (Arends-Toth & Van de Vijver, 2003; 2004; Mok, Morris, Benet-Martínez, Karakitapoğlu-Aygün, 2007). In adolescence, social contacts outside the family take on particular significance as contexts of cultural socialization (Umana-Taylor, Bhanot, & Shin, 2006), yet existing acculturation research focuses mainly on parent-child relations in the family context (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006). Deriving from Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006), recent acculturation research stream considered social contexts, such as family, peers and school contexts as bearing facilitators, proximal cues for the process of acculturation (for a review see Motti-Stefanidi, Berry, Chryssochoou, Sam, & Phinney, 2012). In line with this approach the current study focuses on the school environment as proximal acculturation context. In schools, particularly in their relationship with teachers as key socializing agents, acculturating youngsters are exposed to mainstream cultural models and messages of individualism (Raeff, Greenfield, & Quiroz, 2000). Mainstream teachers' specific role (rather than the peer effect) in transmitting new cultural codes in school is akin to parental cultural transmission at home. Schools not only play a key role in the cultural socialization of adolescents, school outcomes are also decisive for their future life chances (Umana-Taylor, Bhanot, & Shin, 2006).

Zooming in on the relationship of acculturating youth with their teachers, we examine how youngsters combine relatedness with independence in this specific relationship context (first research aim); and how relatedness and independence jointly predict their engagement and achievement (second research aim). In order to identify what is distinctive about the acculturation context, we compare the self-construal and adjustment of acculturating youth to a mainstream cultural reference group in the same school environment. Specifically, we draw on large-scale random samples of Turkish minority youth and their majority Belgian classmates in lower secondary school. Turkish immigrant parents encourage relatedness in their children while also allowing significant independence (Phalet & Güngör, 2009). In mono-cultural contexts, children are known to transfer reflected self-appraisals in relation to parents to their relationship with

teachers (Cole, Maxwell, & Martin, 1997; Mead, 1934; Verschueren, Doumen, & Buyse, 2012). In the context of acculturation, however, relationship contexts with parents and teachers come with different cultural values and context-specific self-appraisals. In line with mainstream cultural variant of individualism in Belgium, Belgian teachers stress independence and individual decision making in their relation with students. For instance, in their multinational study, Reeve and colleagues (2014) found that teachers from more individualistic countries (based on Hofstede's index of countries' positionings on individualism-collectivism) believe more in the efficacy as well as the ease-of-implementation of autonomy-supportive tutoring style. To date, we do not know how acculturating youth with a rather collectivist cultural background combine relatedness with independence in their relationship with teachers; and how this relates to their school adjustment.

Our study adds to acculturation research by shifting focus from immigrant families to schools as less researched context of the acculturation of self; by examining the relationship with teachers as key socializing agents outside the family; and by predicting school success as an adjustment outcome with long-term consequences for the future life chances of acculturating youth. In addition, we extend existing research on culture and self to the context of acculturation. To make sense of the acculturation context, we conceive of cultural self-construals in terms of different combinations of relatedness and independence in particular relationship contexts. Finally, a distinctive empirical strength of the study is its cross-cultural comparative scope, including the cultural reference group (i.e. majority Belgian youth) in the same school contexts as the acculturating youth.

Relatedness and independence: Cultural differences in an acculturation context

From a cultural psychology approach, people's habitual sense of self reflects different culturally valued ways of being and relating in relatively collectivistic and individualistic cultural contexts (Markus & Kitayama, 2010). Thus, Turkish students reported more relatedness to close others than North-American as well as Belgian students (İmamoğlu, 1998; İmamoğlu & Karakitapoğlu Aygün, 2004; 2006; Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996; Üskül, Hynie, & Lalonde, 2004). Taking an approach from cultural self-construals in specific relationship contexts (Coşkan et al., 2016), this study focuses on teacher-student relations. In line with a stronger emphasis on relatedness with teachers in relatively collectivistic cultural contexts (Fryberg & Markus, 2007; Kim, 2002), Turkish teachers reported higher relatedness with

their students (more emotional closeness and less conflict) than American teachers did (Beyazkürk & Kesner, 2005). In rather individualistic cultural contexts, school teachers favor independent – and 'securely attached' – students as more competent (Pianta, Nimetz, & Bennett, 1997). Accordingly, Belgian teachers can encourage students to be independent and competent individuals. They report conflicting views, however, on how much socio-emotional support they should give to their students (Buyse, Verschueren, Verachtert, & Van Damme, 2009; Jacobs & Struyf, 2013). Although relatedness is valued across cultural contexts, it was not on the foreground in Belgian teachers' views of their relationship with students. Along those lines, a cross-cultural comparison between native Turkish and native Belgian self-construals in the relationship with teachers revealed the expected cultural differences (Coşkan et al., 2016). Not only did Turkish students in Turkey report more relatedness to their teachers than Belgian students in Belgium; Belgian students also reported more independence from their teachers than Turkish students.

Our first research aim was to establish how Turkish minority youth (as compared to majority Belgian youth) combine relatedness with independence in relation to their teachers. To this end, we extend known cultural differences in self-construal in relation to teachers to the acculturation context. Acculturation denotes processes of psychological continuity as well as change in response to sustained contact between different cultural groups, such as when people migrate to a new culture or when they grow up with different heritage and mainstream cultural backgrounds (Berry & Sam, 1997). As we know from acculturation research, psychological acculturation refers to the parallel processes of heritage culture maintenance and mainstream culture adoption (Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000). Thus, acculturating persons with a more collectivistic cultural background were found to partly maintain and partly adjust their habitual self-construal as they engage in social contact in a relatively individualistic cultural environment. For instance, Chinese-Canadian students who preferred (Chinese) culture maintenance were more related, while preference for (Canadian) culture adoption was associated with more independence (Ryder et al., 2000). Similarly, Turkish immigrants in Boston were more committed to relatively collectivistic values than native Bostonians; yet they also reported more individualism as compared to native Turkish group in Turkey (Ayçiçeği-Dinn & Caldwell-Harris, 2011). Along those lines, Kağıtçıbaşı (2010) calls for Turkish immigrant families to exercise and grant more individual independence, while also maintaining

emotional closeness and continued relatedness with their children. Thus, Durgel, Leyendecker, Yağmurlu, and Harwood (2009) reported that Turkish-German mothers who acculturated towards both heritage Turkish and mainstream German cultural ways endorsed both relatedness and independence as parenting goals. Also in Belgium, Turkish immigrant parents pass on collectivistic values to their children; and most adolescents are strongly committed to maintaining relatedness in the family context (Güngör, Bornstein, & Phalet, 2012; Güngör, Fleischmann, Phalet, & Maliepaard, 2013). Together, these findings confirm the continuation of relatedness in Turkish minority youth in line with a rather collectivistic cultural heritage. At the same time, continued relatedness can be combined with significant independence, as self-construals become attuned to mainstream cultural variant of individualism. Acculturation is context-specific, however (Arendts-Toth & van de Vijver, 2006). This study focuses on student-teacher relationships in school as an under-researched acculturation context. In support of culture maintenance in relationships with teachers, acculturating Asian-American youth attached higher value to meeting teachers' expectations and complying with teachers' demands in school than their majority peers (Stephens, Fryberg, Markus, Johnson, & Covarrubias, 2012). Likewise, we expected:

> Hypothesis 1a (H1a): Turkish minority youth would feel more related to their teachers than majority Belgian youth.
>
> Hypothesis 1b (H1b): Turkish minority youth to be less independent in relation to their teachers as compared to Majority Belgian youth.

Consequences for Adjustment: Engagement and Achievement

Acculturation research has associated parallel processes of culture maintenance and adoption with different adjustment benefits for acculturating persons (Sam & Berry, 2006). Ward and Kennedy (1993) distinguished psychological adjustment, which refers to well-being and health, from socio-cultural adaptation, which denotes competence and achievement type outcomes of acculturation. Existing findings suggest that heritage culture maintenance and collectivism values contribute mainly to the affective adjustment of acculturating rather collectivistic minorities (Phalet & Hagendoorn, 1996; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001). In our study, we assessed emotional engagement with learning as an affective component of school adjustment. The affective benefits of culture maintenance have been attributed to the importance of cultural

continuity and social support within immigrant communities for effective coping with acculturation stress (Sam & Berry, 2006). On the other hand, individualism values and mainstream culture learning are most important for achievement-related outcomes such as effective problem solving and task performance (Phalet & Hagendoorn, 1996; Ward & Kennedy, 1999). Our study used students' grades as a measure of school achievement. The benefits of mainstream culture adoption are commonly attributed to enhanced social and cultural skills, such as language mastery, which are required to be successful in mainstream cultural settings (Ward, Bochner, Furnham, 2001). In addition, recent findings suggest that the adjustment benefits of cultural adoption are contingent on positive social contact with majority cultural members (Baysu & Phalet, 2012; Demaray, Malecki, Davidson, Hodgeson, & Rebus, 2005; Elias & Haynes, 2008).

If cultural maintenance and adoption contribute to different adjustment outcomes, it follows that bicultural integration, or the combination of high culture maintenance with high adoption, should be most adaptive overall (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006; for a recent meta-analysis see Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2012). The adaptive advantage of biculturalism resonates with the so-called multiculturalism hypothesis (Lambert & Taylor, 1990; Verkuyten, 2005). This hypothesis proposes that combined adoption and maintenance enable effective culture learning while also anchoring new experiences in the heritage culture and community. Evidence for the adjustment benefits of bicultural integration mostly relies on explicit acculturation attitudes. Building on previous findings, our study extends acculturation research beyond explicit attitudes and examines the self-construal of acculturating minority youth. Moreover, it shifts focus from most research family contexts of acculturation to student-teacher relationships as an influential proximal acculturation context. Extending the cultural psychology of self to the study of acculturation, our second research aim is to test the adjustment consequences of the self-construal of acculturating minority youth in their relationship with teachers. In order to establish the role of acculturation proper, as distinct from generic developmental processes (Motti-Stefanidi, Berry, Chryssochoou, Sam, & Phinney, 2012), we compared the self-construal and adjustment of Turkish minority youth with those of majority Belgian youth.

Previous findings on student-teacher relationships suggest the cross-cultural adaptive value of relatedness for all students. For majority Belgian students, for example, emotional support and warmth in student-teacher relationships contributed significantly to their school adjustment (Buyse et al.,

2009; Verschueren et al., 2012). More generally, converging evidence from developmental research corroborates the adaptive value of the affective quality of student-teacher relationships for adolescents (cf. Sabol & Pianta 2012; Verschueren & Koomen, 2012 for reviews). In addition to its cross-cultural adaptive value, relatedness is especially important for well-being and health outcomes in relatively collectivistic cultural contexts such as the Turkish culture. For instance, native Turkish students' school adjustment was better predicted by perceived relatedness to their teachers than by other aspects of their perceived school environment (Cemalcılar, 2010). We aimed at extending these findings to the acculturation context and thus expected relatedness to positively associate with school adjustment. If anything, relatedness may be even more adaptive for affective adjustment (i.e., engagement).

> Hypothesis 2a (H2a): Relatedness with teachers would contribute to school adjustment across cultural groups.

With regard to independence, mixed cross-cultural findings suggest that the adaptive value of an independent self may be conditional on cultural background. While independence was found to enhance the school adjustment of majority Belgian youth (Leflot, Onghena, & Colpin, 2010), findings from rather collectivistic cultural contexts are mixed. For instance, Bao and Lam (2008) found that Chinese children's independence added to their task motivation, over and above teacher–student relatedness. In East-Asian students and lower social classes in the United States, however, individualism values were associated with poor academic achievement (Stephens et al., 2012; see also Spencer, Noll, Stoltzfus & Harpalani, 2001). Also in the acculturation context, recent findings suggest a possible downside of mainstream culture adoption for minority youth, especially in less welcoming acculturation contexts (Baysu, Phalet, & Brown, 2011). Therefore, we hypothesized cultural differences in how independence associates with school adjustment. If anything, independence may be more important for achievement, rather than engagement.

> Hypothesis 2b (H2b): Independence in relation to teachers would be less adaptive for the school adjustment of Turkish minority youth (than for the adjustment of majority Belgian youth).

Finally, we will examine whether the combination of relatedness with independence is associated with an adaptive advantage for acculturating minority youth (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006). In support of an adaptive advantage of bicultural integration, acculturating urban youth in Greece who valued both related and independent selves, reported more well-being than youth who valued either relatedness or independence only (Pouliasi & Verkuyten, 2011). Similarly, the best school achievement of Turkish-German minority youth was found when their self-views contained both heritage and mainstream cultural elements (Hannover, Morf, Neuhaus, Rau, Wolfgramm, & Zander-Musić, 2013). Along those lines, we hypothesized culture specific pattern for the combination of relatedness with independence:

> Hypothesis 3 (H3): The combination of higher independence with higher relatedness in relation to teacher would best contribute to school adjustment only for Turkish minority youth.

5.2 Method

Participants

Over 5000 students from 69 randomly selected high schools in Flanders-Belgium participated in the large-scale Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS) for Flanders-Belgium (Emonds, Meeus, Heikamp, & Meuleman, 2015). Schools were a stratified random sample from all high schools in Flanders with a view to oversampling schools with more minority students (25% less than 10% minorities, 25% 10-40%, 25% 40 to 60%, and 25% over 60% minorities using administrative data on foreign languages spoken at home from the Ministry of Education). The resulting student sample was highly culturally diverse, with Turkish minority students as a major minority group. For the purpose of the present study, we selected only Turkish minority (n = 576) and majority Belgian (n = 1863) students as comparison group. We used self-reported own or (grand-) parental immigration record (i.e., students considered as Turkish minority when at least 1 parent or 2 grandparents were born in Turkey vs. both parents and grandparents born in Belgium) to define cultural groups. All students were attending year 1, 2 or 3 of secondary school. Turkish minority students (M = 15.06; SD = 1.18) were older than the majority Belgian comparison sample (M = 14.56; SD = 1.06), $t(2341) = -9.49$, $p < .01$. The gender distribution was balanced

for both Turkish minority (52% boys) and majority Belgian students (51.3% boys). In line with the known educational disadvantage of Turkish minorities in Europe (Baysu & Phalet, 2012), 40% of Turkish minority and 15.7% of majority students were in so-called B-tracks (year 1 and 2) or in vocational training (from year 3 onwards), which are preparing for skilled work; all other students were in academic or professional tracks, which prepare for higher education. 12.8% of all Turkish minority students were 1rst generation immigrants (born in Turkey), 25.3% 2nd generation (both parents born in Turkey), 50% 2.5 generation (one parent born in Belgium and one in Turkey with grandparents on both sides born in Turkey), and only 11.9% 3rd generation (both parents born in Belgium with one or more grandparents born in Turkey).

Procedure

After schools had signed into the study, students and their parents and teachers were informed about the purpose of the study and their right to opt out preceding our school visit, and again at the start of the research. Self-report questionnaires and cognitive tests were administered in Dutch in each classroom during obligatory class hours and in the presence of their regular teachers and two trained research assistants. The study was introduced as an international survey of European youth on their social relations and school achievement. Students were given detailed instructions, offered assistance in filling out the questionnaires, and allowed several trials before taking the cognitive tests. In the first session we assessed students' school adjustment and their social relationships in school, including their self-construal in relation to teachers. In the second session collective cognitive tests were taken, including an inductive reasoning test to assess non-verbal performance. In addition, students were also asked about their social and cultural backgrounds. Table 5.1 shows descriptive statistics and bivariate correlations between all study variables.

Table 5.1
Bivariate Correlations for Turkish Minority and Majority Belgian Youth

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Gender	–	.02	-.12**	.04	.07	.11**	.13**	-.02
Age	-.02	–	.09*	-.04	.12**	.01	-.16**	-.16**
Track	-.01	.15**	–	-.37**	-.11**	-.07	-.08	.17**
Cognitive performance	.02	-.04	-.37**	–	.09*	.12**	.05	-.09
Independence	-.00	.03	-.11**	.12**	–	.03	-.22**	.05
Relatedness	.08**	-.14**	-.02	.05*	-.03	–	.32**	.02
Engagement	.09**	-.21**	-.14**	.11**	-.01	.31**	–	.01
Achievement	.05	-.22**	.01	.13**	.13**	.13**	.26**	–

Note. The upper part (above the diagonal) presents the correlations for Turkish minority youth and the part (below the diagonal) presents the correlations for majority Belgian youth.
Reference categories: Gender: Boy = 0, Girl = 1; Track: Academic = 0, Vocational = 1.
* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

Measures

Self-construals in relation to teachers

To measure self-construals we used a short form of the cross-culturally validated Relatedness and Independence Scales (Güngör, Phalet, & Kağıtçıbaşı, 2013; Kağıtçıbaşı, 2007). We contextualized both scales for the relationship with teachers. The contextualized Relatedness and Independence Scales were cross-culturally validated in Turkish and Belgian student samples (Coşkan et al., 2016). Building on this cross-cultural study, we could include the four items with the highest factor loadings in both cultural groups as composite indices of Relatedness and Independence in the large-scale CILS survey. The relatedness index assessed emotional closeness vs. distance from teachers (*"My teacher and I live in different worlds" and "I prefer to keep a certain distance in my relationship with my teacher."*). The Independence index referred to autonomous decision making vs. dependence in relation to teachers (*"I am usually afraid of deciding on my personal issues without consulting my teacher." and "When I am*

given a new responsibility, I need my teacher to tell me what I have to do."). The statements were rated on a five-point Likert-type scale (from t*otally disagree to totally agree*). Distance and dependence indicators were reverse coded so that higher scores signify more relatedness and independence respectively.

Multi-group Confirmatory Factor Analysis (MCFA; Byrne & Van de Vijver, 2010) confirmed the cross-cultural equivalence of our contextualized Relatedness and Independence measures for Turkish minority and majority Belgian groups. In support of configural invariance (Steenkamp & Baumgartner, 1998), the hypothesized two-factor model yielded a good fit[19] ($\chi^2(3) = 4.75$, $p = .19$; CFI = .99; RMSEA = .02). Next, this baseline model was compared to a fully factorially invariant model, confirming metric equivalence ($\chi^2(5) = 5.63$, $p = .34$; CFI = .99; RMSEA = .01; $\Delta\chi^2(2) = .88$, $p = .64$). Non-significant inter-factor correlations between Relatedness and Independence (r = -.02 and -.08, for Turkish minority and majority Belgian groups respectively) in the factorially invariant final model support our conception of self-construals as different combinations of relatedness *and* independence (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2007). Given 2-item measures, we consider recent criticism of using inter-item correlations[20] for reliability reporting and we adopt the suggested use of Spearman-Brown's rho (ρ) coefficient (Eisinga, Grotenhuis, & Pelzer, 2013). Accordingly Spearman-Brown coefficients were ρ = .67 and ρ =.58 for Relatedness and ρ = .62 and ρ = .68 for Independence respectively for Turkish minority and majority Belgian groups. For all but relatedness for Belgian minority being on the margin, the reliability coefficients were in the acceptable range of minimum .60. Turkish minority and majority Belgian means for Relatedness (M = 3.23, SD = .93; M = 3.13, SD = .83 resp.) and Independence (M = 2.88, SD = .92; M = 3.36, SD = .83 resp.) were above the scale midpoint.

Adjustment outcomes

To assess engagement and achievement outcomes, we measured students' Emotional Engagement with school and learning (Wang, Willett, & Eccles, 2011) and their self-reported Dutch Language Grades respectively. The Emotional

[19] To avoid negative standard errors in (less stable) two-indicator models, 1 standard error was fixed to .001 (Dillon, Kumar, & Mulani, 1987).

[20] For the curious reader we also report inter–item correlations: R = .50 and R =.43 for Relatedness and R = .45 and R = .51 for Independence respectively for Turkish minority and majority Belgian groups.

Engagement scale consisted of six items: two items measuring students' affective engagement in class ("I feel good in class" and "I like to be in class") from the emotional subscale of the Engagement versus Disaffection with Learning (EvsD) questionnaire (Skinner, Furrer, Marchand, & Kindermann, 2008; Skinner, Kindermann, & Furrer, 2009) and four items measuring affective ties with their school, including three items ("I feel happy at this school", "I feel at home at this school" and "I would recommend this school to other young people") from the School Belonging Scale (Wang, Willett, & Eccles, 2011) and one item ("I am proud to be a student of this school") from Goodenow's (1993) Psychological Sense of School Membership scale. All items were rated on five-point Likert-type scales (from t*otally disagree to totally agree*). Internal consistencies were high in both cultural groups (α=.85 and .86 for Turkish minority and majority Belgian students respectively). While both Turkish and Belgian mean Engagement levels were above the scale midpoint, Turkish minority students (M = 3.63, SD = .82) scored lower than did majority Belgian students (M = 3.72, SD = .71), $t(2366) = 2.38$, $p = .02$.

To assess school achievement, we used students' self-reported Dutch Language Grades on their most recent school report, controlling for their cognitive performance (cf. infra). As schools use different grading scales, all self-reported grades were rescaled from 0 to 100. Turkish minority students (M = 65.33, SD = 11.38) had lower grades on average than their majority Belgian classmates (M = 70.92, SD = 1.46), $t(1750) = 8.91$, $p < .001$. In both cultural groups, students' average grades were above the scale midpoint.

Control variables

Students' Gender (0=Boy; 1= Girl), Age, Educational track (0=Academic tracks; 1=B-track or Vocational tracks) and cognitive performance were controlled for in all analyses. As an objective measure of non-verbal cognitive performance, students solved the inductive reasoning subtest of the Culture Fair Intelligence Test (CFT 20-R; Weiß, 2006 – originally designed by Cattell and Cattell, 1961) which involved 27 non-verbal test items. We then calculated the mean proportion of correctly answered items. Internal consistencies were good in both Turkish minority (α = .84) and majority Belgian groups (α = .74). Turkish minority students (M = .61, SD = .20) had lower cognitive performance on average than their majority Belgian classmates (M = .74, SD = .15), $t(2432) = 16.83$, $p < .001$.

Analyses

As students are nested within schools, multilevel modeling with IGLS estimation (Mlwin, Version 1.10.006; Rasbash, Browne, Goldstein, Yang et al., 2000) was used to test our hypotheses about cultural differences in self-construal in relation to teachers and their consequences for adjustment outcomes in Turkish minority and majority Belgian groups. Variance partitionings in the null models indicated significant school-level variance in self-construal and adjustment outcomes with most variance at the individual level (96%, 91%, 89% and 79% respectively for Relatedness, Independence, Engagement and Achievement). Correlations between study variables are provided in Table 5.1. To test H1a and H1b about cultural differences in self-construal we estimated fixed net effects of cultural group on relatedness and independence, comparing between acculturating and majority cultural groups and controlling for individual differences in gender, age, track and test performance. To test H2a and 2b about adjustment correlates of relatedness and independence, we estimated fixed main effects of relatedness and independence on engagement and achievement across both cultural groups, net of gender, age, track and cognitive performance. Finally, to test H3 on the adaptive advantage of combined relatedness and independence for Turkish minority youngsters (in comparison with majority Belgian reference group), we added the fixed interaction effect of independence with relatedness to main-effects only models in both cultural groups separately.

Stepwise model testing started from a null model without predictors (Model 1) and added individual-level controls (Model 2 with Gender, Age, Educational track and cognitive performance) before testing theoretical main and interaction effects in the next steps (Models 3 and 4). To confirm H1a and H1b about cultural differences in self-construal the effects of cultural group on Relatedness and Independence should be significant (net of controls). To confirm H2a about adjustment correlates of relatedness the main effects of relatedness on engagement and achievement outcomes should be significantly positive (net of controls). To test cross-cultural generalizability, we added the interaction effects of relatedness with cultural group on both adjustment outcomes. To confirm H2b about the positive association between adjustment and independence for the majority Belgian group the interaction effects of independence with cultural group on engagement and achievement should be significant. Finally, H3 about the adjustment advantage of combining independence with relatedness for Turkish minority youth requires that the interaction effects of independence with

relatedness on both outcomes become significant in the Turkish minority group. Simple slopes were tested by way of univariate Wald tests using an excel macro based[21] on Dawson and Richter's work (2006). In reporting analysis results, unstandardized estimates are provided.

5.3 Results

Cultural differences in relatedness and independence

To test different self–construals in Turkish minority and majority Belgian groups, we estimated net cultural differences in relatedness and independence by way of stepwise multi-level models (see Table 5.2). In the final models cultural groups explained significant additional variance in relatedness, $\chi^2(1) = 11.126$, $p < .001$, as well as independence, $\chi^2(1) = 56.458$, $p < .001$, as compared to baseline models with controls only. As expected, Turkish minority students were more related to their teachers than their majority classmates ($B = .16$, $SE = .05$, $p = .006$). Conversely, they were less independent in relation to their teacher than majority students ($B = -.38$, $SE = .05$, $p < .001$). As expected, Turkish minority youth were significantly more related and less independent in their relationship with teachers than their majority Belgian peers (see Figure 5.1).

Relative to the null models, the addition of control variables also increased explained variance in relatedness, $\chi^2(4) = 237.248$, $p < .001$, and independence, $\chi^2(4) = 222.245$, $p < .001$. Thus, girls were more related on average ($B = .11$, $SE = .04$, $p = .007$) and so were younger students ($B = -.08$, $SE = .02$, $p = .03$) and students with higher cognitive performance ($B = .31$, $SE = .12$, $p = .05$). Conversely, older students were more independent on average ($B = .07$, $SE = .02$, $p = .007$). Also, students in academic tracks were more independent than those in vocational training ($B = -.18$, $SE = .05$, $p = .004$) and so were students with higher cognitive performance ($B = .38$, $SE = .05$, $p < .001$).

[21] The excel macro for slope tests is taken from J. Dawson's personal website (http://www.jeremydawson.co.uk/slopes.htm).

Table 5.2

Multi-level Models of Cultural Differences in Self-Construals

	Relatedness	**Independence**
Fixed part:		
Intercept	3.064 (.033)***	3.374(.033)***
Gender	.111 (.036)**	.000 (.036)
Age	-.075 (.018)***	.071 (.018) *
Track	.004 (.050)	-.179(.051)**
Cognitive performance	.312 (.119)**	.322 (.120)***
Culture	.163 (.048)**	-.384 (.048)***
Random part:		
Residual variances		
School level	.012 (.006)**	.012 (.006)**
Individual level	.689 (.021)***	.696 (.021)***
Model fit		
Degrees of freedom	8	8
-2 LL (IGLS)	5633.292	5661.554
$\chi^2(5)$	11.126***	56.458***
N	2273	2275

Note. Reference categories: Gender (boys), Culture (majority), Track (academic). Unstandardized coefficients B and standard errors are provided; * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

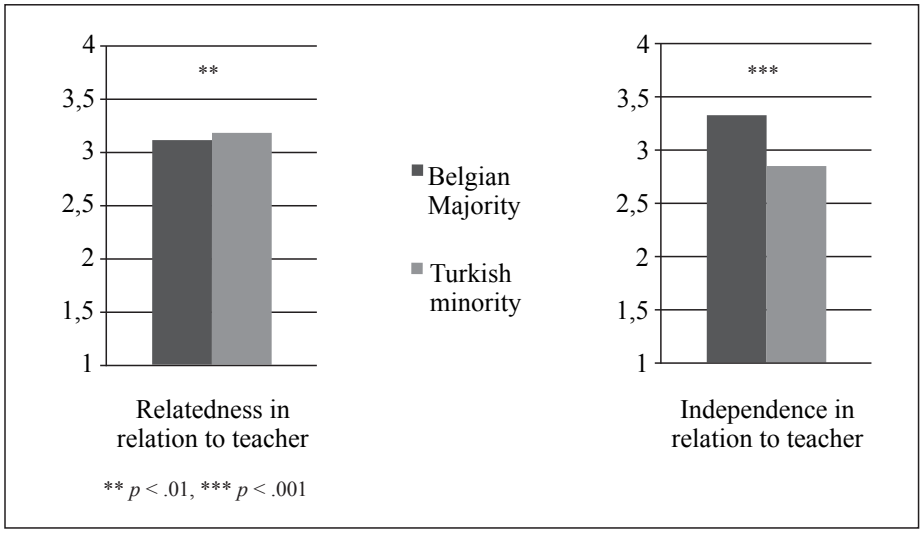

Figure 5.1. Mean levels of Relatedness and Independence in relation to teacher across cultural groups

Associations with engagement and achievement

In a next step, we tested the main effects of relatedness and independence on emotional engagement and achievement outcomes for Turkish minority and majority Belgian groups, as well as their interaction effects with cultural group, in stepwise multi-level models (see Tables 5.3 and 5.4).

Affective outcomes

The addition of relatedness and independence to the baseline model with cultural groups and controls only significantly increased the explained variance in emotional engagement, $\Delta\chi^2(3) = 285.913$, $p < .001$. Across both groups, students who felt more related to their teachers reported higher levels of engagement with school and learning than less related peers ($B = .24$, $SE = .02$, $p < .001$). Conversely, more independent students were less engaged ($B = -.07$, $SE = .02$, $p < .001$) but this effect was qualified by a significant interaction with cultural group. Adding interactions with cultural group further increased the explained variance in engagement relative to a model with main effects only, $\Delta\chi^2(2) = 23.148$, $p < .001$. Only the interaction effect of independence with cultural groups was significant ($B = -.16$, $SE = .04$, $p < .001$). To interpret this significant interaction, we tested simple slopes for independence within both cultural groups. For Turkish minority students only, more independence from teachers was negatively related to their engagement ($t = -6.06$, $p < .001$). The engagement of majority Belgian students was unrelated to independence ($t = -1.25$, *ns*) (see Figure 2). Additionally, we also tested simple slopes for relatedness to teachers within cultural groups. For acculturating ($t = 9.25$, $p < .001$) and mainstream cultural groups alike ($t = 11.59$, $p < .001$), relatedness was associated with higher levels of engagement. If anything, the slope was slightly steeper and hence the positive effect of relatedness was even stronger for Turkish minority students, $\Delta\chi^2(1) = 2.91$, $p = .07$. We conclude that relatedness predicts better affective adjustment across both cultural groups, whereas independence negatively predicts adjustment in Turkish minority youth only.

Finally, the addition of control variables also increased the explained variance in emotional engagement over the null model, $\Delta\chi^2(4) = 294.404$, $p < .001$. Thus, girls were more engaged than boys ($B = .12$, $SE = .03$, $p < .001$) and so were younger (vs. older) students ($B = -.10$, $SE = .02$, $p < .001$) and students in academic (vs. vocational) tracks ($B = -.10$, $SE = .04$, $p = .05$).

Table 5.3
Stepwise Multilevel Models of Self-Construals and Engagement across Cultural Groups

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Fixed part:					
Intercept	3.647 (.033)***	3.634 (.033)***	3.627 (.034)***	3.659 (.033)***	3.655 (.033)***
Gender		.143 (.031)***	.143 (.034)***	.117 (.030)***	.118 (.029)***
Age		-.124 (.015)***	-.125 (.015)***	-.103 (.015)***	-.101 (.015)***
Track		-.081 (.044)	-.083 (.044)*	-.096 (.042) *	-.099 (.042) *
Cognitive performance		.165 (.097)	.176 (.099)	.105 (.095)	.094 (.095)
Culture			.027 (.043)	-.034 (.041)	-.073 (.042)
Independence				-.068 (.017)***	-.023 (.019)
Relatedness				.242 (.017) ***	.226 (.019) ***
Relatedness *Culture					.062 (.037)
Independence*Culture					-.164 (.036)***
			.113 (.056)*	.018 (.057)	.103 (.060)*
Random part:				1.067 (.162)***	.048 (.027)*
Residual variances					
School level	.053 (.012)*	.030 (.008)*	.030 (.008)*	.028 (.007)*	.027 (.007)*
Individual level	.497 (.015)***	.443 (.014)***	.473 (.014)***	.425 (.013)***	.421 (.013)***
Model fit					
Degrees of freedom	3	7	8	10	12
-2*LL (IGLS)	5158.218	4863.814	4863.420	4577.901	4554.753
$\Delta\chi^2$		294.404***	0.394	285.913***	23.148***
Model fit					
Number of parameters	4	6	9	10	10
-2*LL (IGLS)	3526.097	3426.589	3382.592	3294.802	3066.713
$\Delta\chi^2$		99.508***	43.997***	87.790***	315.879***
N	2367	2294	2294	2272	2272

Note. Reference categories: Gender (boys), Culture (majority), Track (academic).

Unstandardized coefficients B and standard errors are provided; * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

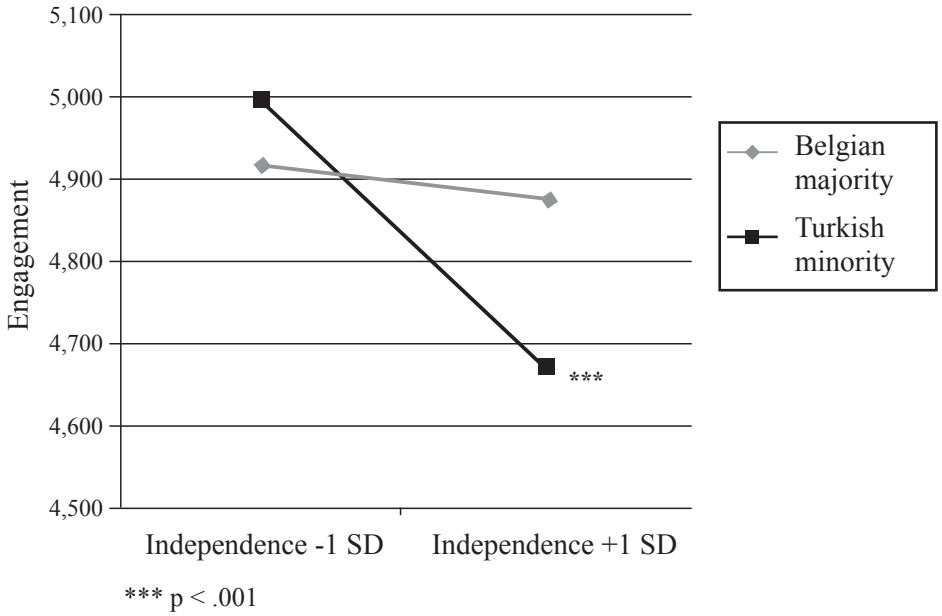

Figure 5.2. Effects of independence on engagement for Turkish minority youth (vs. majority Belgian) youth

Achievement outcomes

Similarly, to predict school achievement from students' self-construals, we added relatedness and independence as predictors to a baseline model with cultural groups and controls. Relatedness and independence significantly increased the explained variance in Dutch language grades, $\Delta\chi^2(2) = 129.711$, $p < .001$. Across cultural groups, both relatedness with teachers ($B = .79$, $SE = .29$, $p = .005$) and independence ($B = 1.40$, $SE = .29$, $p < .001$) were associated with higher achievement (conditional on cognitive performance and other controls). Next, we added interactions with cultural groups but the model with interactions was not significantly better than the model with main effects only, $\Delta\chi^2(2) = 1.12$, *ns*. In the absence of significant interactions, we conclude that significant positive associations of both relatedness and independence with achievement generalize across cultural groups.

Furthermore, the addition of cultural groups and control variables increased explained variance in students' grades over the null model, $\Delta\chi^2(4) = 455.724$, $p < .001$. Dutch language grades were higher for students with higher cognitive performance ($B = 7.79$, $SE = 1.68$, $p < .001$). Conditional on test performance, girls had higher grades than boys ($B = 1.13$, $SE = .51$, $p = .04$) as well as younger

(vs. older) students (B = -1.88, SE = .27, $p < .001$) and students in vocational (vs. academic) tracks (B = 2.79, SE = .80, $p < .001$). Finally, Turkish minority students had significantly lower grades (controlling for cognitive performance) than their majority classmates (B = -3.70, SE = .75, $p < .001$).

Table 5.4

Stepwise Multilevel Models of Self-Construals and Achievement across Cultural Groups

	Model 1	**Model 2**	**Model 3**	**Model 4**
Fixed part:				
Intercept	68.160 (.701)***	67.391 (.711)***	68.356 (.704)***	68.302 (.692)***
Gender		1.128 (.514)*	1.165 (.510)*	1.053 (.508)*
Age		-1.880 (.269)***	-1.742 (.268)***	-1.758 (.267)***
Track		2.786 (.803)***	3.209 (.800)***	3.294 (.797)***
Cognitive performance		7.789 (1.684)***	6.633 (1.691)***	6.506 (1.687) ***
Culture			-3.705 (.753)***	-3.338 (.758)***
Independence				1.403 (.289)***
Relatedness				.791 (.286)**
Random part: Residual variances				
School level	25.047 (5.455)***	20.030 (4.535)***	17.438 (4.048)***	16.536 (3.856)***
Individual level	96.806 (3.331)***	91.424 (3.189)***	90.488 (3.156)***	89.172 (3.123)***
Model fit				
Degrees of freedom	3	7	8	10
-2 LL (IGLS)	13101.784	12646.060	12622.302	12492.591
$\Delta\chi^2$		455.724***	23.758***	129.711***
N	1752	1705	1705	1691

Note. Reference categories: Gender (boys), Culture (majority), Track (academic). Unstandardized coefficients B and standard errors are provided; * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Is there an adaptive advantage of combined relatedness and independence?

In a last step, we tested the adjustment correlates of students' self-construals for the Turkish minority group separately (as well as for majority Belgian group)[22]. To test a hypothetical adjustment advantage of combined independence and relatedness, we estimated the interaction effects of independence with relatedness on engagement and achievement against models with only main effects. As the main effects models for Turkish minority youth replicated similar findings in the pooled analyses described above, we only present the final models with interactions. Only for Turkish minority youth, the addition of the independence by relatedness interactions significantly increased the explained variance in both engagement, $\Delta\chi^2(1) = 6.753$, $p < .01$, and achievement outcomes, $\Delta\chi^2(2) = 6.724$, $p = .03$ (see Tables 5.5 and 5.6). To interpret significant interaction effects on engagement ($B = -.08$, $SE = .03$, $p = .004$) and achievement ($B = 1.49$, $SE = .61$, $p = .007$), we tested simple slopes for independence effects at low and high levels of relatedness with teachers. While independence was strongly negatively related to engagement in less related Turkish minority students ($t = -5.91$, $p < .001$; see Figure 5.3), this negative effect was weaker for more highly related Turkish minority students ($t = -2.43$, $p = .02$), $\Delta\chi^2(1) = 6.80$, $p < .01$. Thus, more related Turkish minority students evinced more sustained engagement – or less engagement decrements – at higher levels of independence. Similarly for achievement, independence was significantly positively related to Turkish minority students' Dutch grades when they were more related to teachers ($t = 2.94$, $p = .004$; see Figure 5.4), whereas independence was unrelated to the grades of less related Turkish minority students ($t = -.34$, *ns*). To conclude, only Turkish minority students who were highly related, reported sustained emotional engagement and higher achievement at high levels of independence. As anticipated, these associations were not observed in majority Belgian students.

[22] The final models including the interactions of independence with relatedness were significantly better only in the Turkish minority group and not in the Belgian group. The latter models were not reported.

Table 5.5

Stepwise Multilevel Models of Self-Construal and Engagement for Turkish Minority Youth

	Model 1	**Model 2**	**Model 3**	**Model 4**	**Model 5**
Fixed part:					
Intercept	3.601 (.049)***	3.529 (.067)***	3.559 (.066)***	3.583 (.060)***	3.588 (.060)***
Gender		.185 (.072)	.183 (.070)**	.128 (.066)**	.124 (.065)**
Age		-.098 (.030)	-.078 (.030)**	-.078 (.028)**	-.077 (.028)**
Track		-.025 (.081)	-.063 (.079)	-.059 (.073)	-.067 (.073)
Cognitive performance		.124 (.190)	.089 (.188)	-.026 (.177)	-.044 (.176)
Independence			-.183(.036)***	-.186(.034)***	-.178(.034)***
Relatedness				.287 (.034)***	.287 (.034)***
Independence* Relatedness					.081 (.031)**
Random part: Residual variances					
School level	.042 (.021)*	.023(.016)	.023(.015)	.015(.012)	.014(.012)
Individual level	.633 (.039)***	.610(.038)***	.569(.036)***	.504(.032)***	.498(.032)***
Model fit					
Degrees of freedom	3	7	8	9	10
-2 LL (IGLS)	1360.008	1276.164	1227.88	1157.842	1151.089
$\Delta\chi^2$		83.844***	48.284***	70.038***	6.753**
N	561	538	533	532	532

Note. Reference categories: Gender (boys), Track (academic).
Unstandardized coefficients B and standard errors are provided; * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Table 5.6

Stepwise Multilevel Models of Self-Construal and Achievement for Turkish Minority Youth

	Model 1b	**Model 2b**	**Model 3b**	**Model 4b**	**Model 5b**
Fixed part:					
Intercept	65.317 (.878)***	63.550 (1.231)***	63.347 (1.230)***	63.379 (.1.227)***	63.250 (1.217)***
Gender		.854 (1.261)	.896 (1.253)	.783 (1.258)	.886 (1.248)
Age		-1.601 (.539) **	-1.689 (.537) **	-1.711 (.537)***	-1.593 (.534)**
Track		4.032 (1.397)**	4.208 (1.394)**	4.208 (1.392)***	4.175 (1.380)**
Cognitive performance		.294 (3.353)	1.058 (3.345)	1.023 (3.342)	1.117 (3.314)
Independence			1.187(.637)	1.135 (.638)	1.183 (.633)
Relatedness				.576 (.634)	.521 (.629)
Independence* Relatedness					1.487 (.610)**
Random part: Residual variances					
School level	14.037 (6.627)*	12.934 (6.273)*	13.141 (6.307)*	12.999 (6.239)*	12.687 (6.111)*
Individual level	114.201 (8.918)***	108.775 (8.652)***	106.848 (8.527)***	106.646 (8.513)***	104.906 (8.373)***
Model fit					
Degrees of freedom	3	7	8	9	10
-2 LL (IGLS)	2784.323	2675.221	2654.450	2653.624	2647.726
$\Delta\chi^2$		109.102***	20.771***	.826	6.724*
N	364	352	350	350	350

Note. Reference categories: Gender (boys), Track (academic).
Unstandardized coefficients B and standard errors are provided; * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

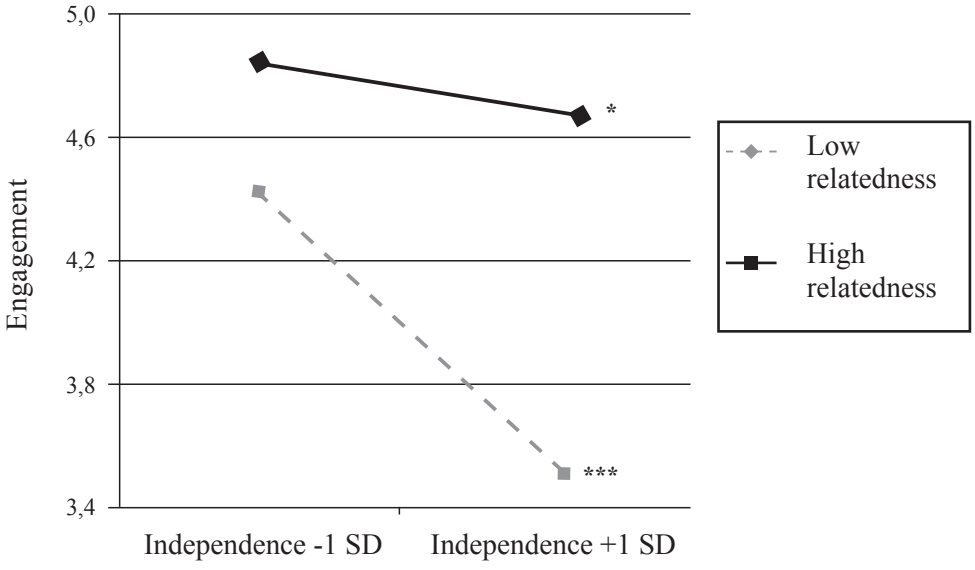

Figure 5.3. Effects of independence on engagement at high and low relatedness for Turkish minority youth

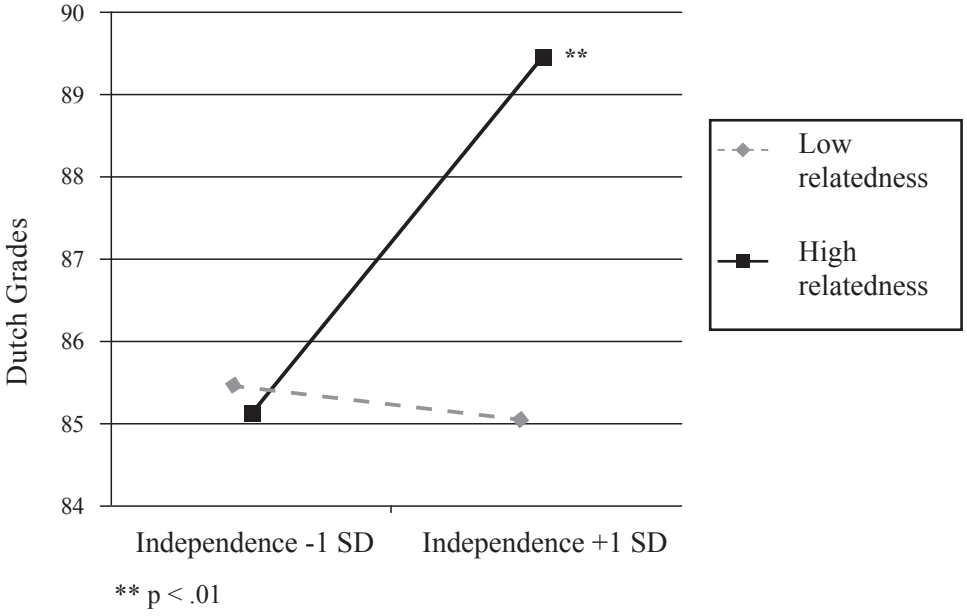

Figure 5.4. Effects of independence on achievement at high and low relatedness for Turkish minority youth

5.4 Discussion

The two-fold aim of this study was to examine (a) how relatedness and independence differ between acculturating (rather collectivistic) minority and mainstream (rather individualistic) majority groups; and (b) how they jointly relate to adjustment outcomes in acculturating persons. To this end, we extended research on culture and self to the context of acculturation. The study focused on schools as an influential acculturation context outside the family and investigated students' self-construal in relation to school teachers as key socialization agents. As distinct from their immigrant parents, school teachers represent the mainstream culture to acculturating youth. To make sense of the bicultural world of acculturating youth, we examined how Turkish minority combined relatedness and independence in their relationship with school teachers.

In order to derive our hypotheses, we combined the cultural psychology of self with acculturation research. Building on existing evidence of cultural differences in self-construal, we hypothesized that, compared to their majority Belgian peers, Turkish minority youth would be more related and less independent in relation to their teachers (H1a and H1b). From research on acculturative adjustment we predicted that maintaining relatedness would contribute to the school adjustment of Turkish minority youth. Looking beyond culture maintenance in the context of acculturation, however, there is much evidence suggesting adjustment benefits of relatedness across cultural groups. In contrast, cross-cultural findings on the benefits of individualistic orientations in relatively collectivistic cultural contexts and for minority youth are mixed. Against this background, we expected positive associations of relatedness with school adjustment to generalize across cultural groups (H2a). In addition, we questioned whether and when independence could contribute to adjustment. We predicted that t Independence in relation to teachers would be less adaptive for the school adjustment of Turkish minority youth – as distinct from majority Belgian youth (H2b). Finally, reasoning from a hypothetical adaptive advantage of bicultural integration, we hypothesized that a combination of higher independence with higher relatedness with teacher would best contribute to school adjustment only for Turkish minority youth (H3).

To test our hypotheses we made use of the large-scale CILS survey of Turkish minority youth and their majority Belgian classmates in lower secondary schools in Belgium. The pattern of findings was largely consistent with our expectations. Extending differences in self-construal between relatively

collectivistic vs. individualistic cultural contexts to an acculturation context, and supporting H1a and H1b, Turkish minority students were more related and less independent from their Belgian teachers than their majority Belgian classmates. Apparently, Turkish minority youth maintained a related self-construal in their relation with teachers, in accordance with their rather collectivistic cultural background. Similarly, majority Belgian students reported more independence from teachers, in line with the rather individualistic mainstream culture in Belgium.

In a next step, we examined the implications of cultural differences in self-construal for the adjustment of Turkish minority youth. Thus, we were able to predict school achievement as an adjustment outcome with long-term consequences for the future life chances of acculturating youth. In addition, self-construal also made the difference between emotional engagement vs. disengagement, which is a key predictor of the chances to stay on in high school or to leave school early (Skinner et al., 2008, 2009).

In accordance with H2a, relatedness to teachers contributed to the adjustment of both Turkish minority and majority Belgian groups, so that students who were more closely related to teachers, were also more motivated and successful. Moreover, we found that the positive associations of relatedness with school adjustment generalized across both engagement and achievement types of outcomes and across cultural groups. These results suggest that being related with their teacher generally contributes to school adjustment

In contrast, we expected and found that the contribution of independence was more circumscribed (H2b). Our results showed that, partially in line with our hypothesis, being independent from teacher predicted lower engagement of students, while it predicted higher achievement outcomes. Thus, more independent students reported higher grades, yet lower engagement levels. Most importantly, the negative association between independence and engagement was driven by the Turkish minority group. Thus, as predicted, Turkish minority students' emotional engagement was lower at higher levels of independence whereas the engagement of majority Belgian youth was unrelated. The latter finding suggests that an independent self-construal may be required for acculturating rather collectivistic youth to achieve in school, yet it comes at the risk of emotional disaffection, thus potentially undermining sustained achievement in the longer run. In view of more frequent exposure to school failure among minority youth (Baysu & Phalet, 2012), their emotional wellbeing in class and related feelings of

belonging in school constitute a key protective factor. We can only speculate why independence is not costly for majority Belgian youth. Possibly, in line with mixed evidence of the benefits of independence in more collectivistic cultural contexts, the relatively individualistic cultural background of majority Belgian students helps them to be independent and emotionally attuned to the expectations of their Belgian teachers (Thijs & Verkuyten, 2012). Conversely, in view of their rather collectivistic cultural background, Turkish minority students may be less attuned to independence expectations from their teachers and hence less able to enact independence in culturally congruent ways (Thijs, Westhof, & Koomen, 2012). Indirect evidence comes from typically less individualistic students from lower class backgrounds in the United States, who were less likely to succeed when their academic environment stressed independence than when relatedness was valued (Stephens, Fryberg, Markus et al., 2012). Alternatively, teachers may expect more conformity and less independence from minority youth relative to majority youth. Along those lines, there is some evidence of differential teacher expectations with lower academic expectation in more segregated Belgian schools (Ağırdağ, Van Avermaet, & Van Houtte, 2013). Looking beyond differential academic expectations, students from vocational tracks were also found less engaged in tasks that required autonomous work (Elffers, 2013). In the Belgian migration context, Turkish minority youth are generally socially disadvantaged as children of immigrant workers; and they are over-represented in vocational training, which prepares for semi-skilled or skilled manual work (Baysu & Phalet, 2012).

Finally, we asked whether the contribution of independence learning for acculturating youth could be promoted by relatedness, as relatedness concerns are central to the self in relatively collectivistic cultural contexts. Across cultural groups, relatedness vs. separateness and independence vs. dependence constituted orthogonal dimensions of self-construal in student-teacher relationships. By implication, youngsters can value a close and supportive relationship with teachers while also learning to make choices and take responsibilities independently from them, in line with the mainstream culture of independence in Belgian schools. For acculturating collectivistic youth in particular, in line with a hypothetical adjustment advantage of bicultural integration, learning independent ways of relating to teachers may thus require maintaining relatedness. For Turkish minority, thus, only when primary relatedness concerns are met, independence can be added on without posing a threat to the relationship (H3). Accordingly, highly related Turkish minority youth were no less engaged when they were also

highly independent from teachers. Conversely, we found that highly independent but less related Turkish minority youth as less engaged. Moreover, highly related and independent Turkish minority youth were also more successful than peers who were either less related or less independent. Specifically, more independent Turkish minority students who were also highly related to their teachers reported higher grades for Dutch language relative to both less independent and less related Turkish minority peers.

To conclude, our findings revealed the rewarding promises for Turkish minority youth of maintaining a related self-construal and off transferring culturally valued relatedness to their relationship with Belgian school teachers. Relatedness not only predicted better affective adjustment, it also enabled higher achievement in school. Moreover, relatedness was revealed as a common ground in student-teacher relationships across cultural in diverse classrooms, since also majority Belgian students profited from a strong sense of connectedness to their teachers. Finally, relatedness did not stand in the way of independence learning in student-teacher relationships across the cultural groups. To the contrary, cultivating relatedness crucially enabled decreased dependence from teachers in Turkish minority youth while at the same time protecting their emotional engagement in school. In majority Belgian youth, in contrast, student-teacher relatedness and emotional engagement were dissociated from independence.

More generally, our findings resonate with acculturation research which documents the protective role of heritage culture maintenance in the adjustment of acculturating persons. In particular, cultural continuity was found to buffer psychological adjustment and well-being (Ward, Bochner, Furnham, 2001). In a similar vein, acculturating minority youth were found to accentuate heritage cultural values of relative collectivism in response to cross-cultural contact with a rather individualistic mainstream culture (Güngör, Fleischmann, Phalet & Maliepaard, 2013). Whereas majority views of acculturation typically understand heritage and mainstream cultural ways as conflicting, minority views typically combine heritage culture maintenance or even accentuation with mainstream culture contact and learning (De Leersnyder, Mesquita & Kim, 2011; Güngör et al., 2013).

In contrast, the findings highlight the contingent nature of the promises of mainstream culture adoption, in casu independence. However, the cross-sectional data does not allow us to infer causality. Future research can address longitudinal effects of learning independence as well as contextual constraints on independence

learning for minority youth. Additionally, our use of 2-item constructs for relatedness and independence comprise difficulty in making precise deductions although acceptable Spearman coefficients suggest that replicability to a degree should be possible (Eisinga, Grotenhuis, & Pelzer, 2013). We discussed possible issues of cultural fit so that minority students with a rather collectivistic cultural background in a relatively individualistic school environment may find it hard to assert independence while simultaneously maintaining relatedness (Stephens, Fryberg, Markus, Johnson, & Covarrubias, 2012). But we also acknowledged differential teacher support for independence due to the minority status and the predominant lower social-class background of many minority students (Feliciano, 2005; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). Past research in Belgium already noted that educational tracking explains socio-economic segregation to a great extent and signaled that even when controlled for socio-economic status, minority status may have detrimental effects on educational outcomes (Hindriks, Verschelde, Rayp, & Schoors, 2010). Further research should thus consider the conjoint roles of social and ethnic segregation as prevailed by educational tracking. On a final note, increased hostility and discrimination against Muslim minorities in Europe may complicate the bicultural integration of acculturating youth (Baysu, Phalet, & Brown, 2011). Combining relatedness and independence may be psychologically demanding for minority youth when the majority society sees their heritage culture as incompatible with mainstream cultural values. Therefore, future research should address the interplay between interpersonal relations as proximal acculturation contexts and the wider intergroup climate in which these relations are embedded.

CHAPTER 6

Discussion

6.1. Cultural Patterns and Acculturation of Self

Remember Elif. Elif values and preserves relatedness with her parents by taking their feelings and wishes into account. Yet her Belgian teachers and peers expect her to make decisions as an autonomous individual and plan her life separately from her parents. How will Elif combine relatedness and autonomy in her self-construal in relation to her (Turkish) parents and (Belgian) teachers? And how will this predicther engagement and success as a Turkish student in Belgium? The starting point of my dissertation was the question of how different culturally valued ways of being and relating are reflected in different self-construals in relatively individualistic and collectivistic cultural contexts. In asking this question, I did not consider individualism and collectivism as mutually exclusive, but rather as continua. My main objective was to examine what happens to the self-construals of acculturating persons from a rather collectivistic cultural background who either migrate to, or who are born into, more individualistic mainstream cultures.

I conceived of people's self-construal in terms of relatedness (vs. separateness) and autonomy (vs. heteronomy). Relatedness and autonomy are complementary human motives which differ across cultures in their relative importance. Building on Kağıtçıbaşı's (2005) self theory, I defined relatedness in terms of affective closeness (i.e., maintaining close and warm relationships vs. keeping others at a distance) and autonomy as self-governance (i.e., independent decision making vs. depending on others, yielding to others). Whereas relatedness is most self-defining in more collectivistic cultural contexts, autonomy is self-defining in more individualistic cultural contexts. Comparing across cultural groups, I asked how youngsters and young adults combine relatedness and autonomy in their relationships with others. Specifically, I distinguished between their self-construals in relation to their mother and their teachers. Thus, I situated self-construal in specific relationship contexts within family and school settings. I focused on relationships with mothers and with teachers as key socialization agents who represent and transmit cultural norms and values to the younger generation.

Extending a cultural psychology approach of self to the context of acculturation, I asked how acculturating youth combine relatedness with autonomy as compared to mainstream cultural reference groups. Do they maintain relatedness – in line with the relatively collectivistic heritage culture – and/or

develop autonomy – in contact with the relatively individualistic mainstream culture? I contextualized the acculturation of self in relation to mother in the family context and in relation to teacher in the school context. From the perspective of acculturating youth, mothers would represent and transmit the heritage culture, whereas school teachers would represent and transmit the mainstream culture. This raises the hitherto unanswered question of whether acculturating youngsters maintain relatedness and/or adopt more autonomous ways of being and relating in their relationship with teachers.

To examine how self-construal is intertwined with acculturation processes as a consequence of migration, my co-authors and I associated self-construal in acculturating youth with their acculturation attitudes. In accordance with a bidimensional conception of acculturation (Berry, 2003; Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000), preferences for heritage culture maintenance, mainstream culture adoption, and bicultural integration (i.e., combining both heritage and mainstream cultures) were distinguished. Are more related youngsters more oriented toward culture maintenance? Would more autonomous youth sooner adopt mainstream cultural ways? Does an integration strategy entail less motivational conflict between relatedness and autonomy? I also linked the self-construals of acculturating youth to their actual acculturation in terms of exposure to the mainstream culture in school and competence in the mainstream language. Does actual acculturation predict enhanced autonomy in relation to teachers?

In a final step, I examined how different self-construals among acculturating youth were associated with adjustment outcomes. Focusing on schools as a key socialization context with long-term consequences for the future life chances of acculturating youth, in my research I aimed to predict wellbeing and success from their self-construal in relation to teachers. I asked whether relatedness, autonomy and/or their combination contribute to their school engagement and grade success.

In a nutshell, my dissertation was organized around three major research aims or questions: First, how Turkish and Belgian people differ in their self-definitions in different relational contexts? Second, do these cultural differences extend to the acculturation context? And how do self-construals relate to cultural exposure and different acculturation attitudes? Third, what are the consequences of culturally different self-construals for adjustment? To shed light on these questions, I conducted six empirical studies with Turkish youth in Turkey, Belgian youth in Belgium, and acculturating youngsters of either Turkish or Moroccan origin in Belgium. My research groups are university students, secondary-school

students, or adult community members in Belgium or in Turkey as heritage and mainstream cultural contexts. Measures of self-construal, acculturation and adjustment are contextualized in the family or school environment as distinct contexts of cultural transmission and acculturation.

1) Study 1 (cf. Chapter 2) and Study 2 (cf. Chapter 3) established distinct self-construals across different cultural and relational contexts;
2) Study 3 (cf. Chapter 3), Studies 4 and 5 (cf. Chapter 4) and Study 6 (cf. Chapter 5) investigated self-construals in the acculturation context;
3) Study 6 tested the psychological consequences of self-construals for the adjustment of acculturating persons (Chapter 5).

The following section (section 6.2) reviews the main hypotheses and findings across the six studies (see Table 6.1). Next, I discuss theoretical and methodological contributions of this dissertation to the cultural psychology of self and to acculturation research. Finally, I acknowledge some limitations of the current studies and I suggest how these may be addressed in future research.

6.2. Overview of findings

6.2.1. Self in cultural and relational context

The first research aim of my dissertation was to examine people's self-construal in different cultures. To this end, I distinguished between relatedness and autonomy as complementary human motives (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2005; see also İmamoğlu, 2003). Although both motives coexist within the same person, relatedness is foregrounded in more collectivistic cultural contexts like Turkey whereas more individualistic cultural contexts like Belgium foreground individual autonomy. Going beyond existing evidence of cultural differences in self, I studied relatedness and autonomy in relation to others because I conceive of the self as grounded in specific relationship contexts. In this dissertation, I focused on relationships with mother and teachers as socializing agents who transmit cultural values and norms to the next generation. Moreover, I compared self-construals in North-West European and Mediterranean cultural contexts, which have been less extensively researched than North American and East-Asian cultures (Cross, Hardin, Gerçek-Swing, 2011; Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002). My

research is part of a recent stream of cross-cultural research distinguishing a European variant of individualism as well as multiple variants of collectivism (Güngör, Karasawa, Boiger, Dinçer, & Mesquita, 2014; Pouliasi & Verkuyten, 2011; see also Mayer, Trommsdorff, Kağıtçıbaşı, & Mishra, 2012).

Self in cultural context

I hypothesized that Turkish students (in Turkey) – as compared to Belgian students (in Flanders) – would define themselves as more related and less autonomous in their relations with others, in line with cultural differences in relative collectivism-individualism (see Table 6.1). To test this hypothesis Studies 1 and 2 compared the self-construal of Turkish and Belgian student samples in relation to their mothers and teachers. In line with Kağıtçıbaşı's conceptualization of self in terms of complementary self dimensions of relatedness and autonomy, I validated distinct relatedness and autonomy motives across cultural contexts by way of confirmatory factor analysis and simultaneous components analysis. Comparing Turkish and Belgian students, my findings partially confirmed the expected cultural differences in self-construal. More precisely, Turkish students in both studies were significantly more related than Belgian students. Yet, the evidence of cultural differences in autonomy was mixed. Turkish students were less autonomous than Belgians in Study 1, yet they did not differ from Belgian students in Study 2.

Self in relationships

From a cultural psychology approach of the self as grounded in meaningful social ties with others (Üskül, Hynie, Lalonde, 2004), I argued that cultural differences in self-construals are better understood in specific relationship contexts. Accordingly, I hypothesized that cultural differences in self-construal would be more pronounced in less intimate relationships – as individualistically oriented cultural contexts would restrict relatedness to intimate relationships such as between mother and child. Thus, I predicted that Turkish students (in Turkey) would be more related and less autonomous than Belgians (in Flanders) especially in relation to their teachers (see Table 6.1). As expected, when comparing Turkish and Belgian students' self-construals across relationship contexts in Study 1, I found that in relation to their teacher, Turkish students were more related and less autonomous than Belgians students. Turning to the relationship context with mother, however, I found that Turkish students were no less autonomous in relation to their mothers than Belgian students in both studies. While Belgian students in

Study 1 were no less related to their mother than Turkish students, Belgians in Study 2 were significantly less related to their mother than Turkish students. As expected, there was rather less consistent evidence of cultural differences in self-construal with mothers than with teachers.

What can be the reasons for mixed findings of cultural differences in relatedness with mother? One possible explanation is the way relatedness was measured: as affective closeness in Study 1, and by adding "inclusion of other into self" meaning (cf. Üskül et al., 2004) in Study 2 (e.g. "My mother strongly influences my personality", see Table A1.7 in Appendix I). Future research may distinguish different aspects of relatedness in specific relationships. Most probably, also more individualistic cultural contexts support affective closeness in particular relationships such as between parents and children, whereas more collectivistic contexts promote relatedness more globally and also in less intimate relational contexts, such as student-teacher relations. Interestingly, there was no evidence of cultural differences in autonomy in relation to mother in either study. Apparently, as distinct from student-teacher relations, the relationship with mother affords similar degrees of autonomy across both cultural contexts. Along those lines, Kağıtçıbaşı (2005) revealed that urban Turkish families foster an autonomous-related self which balances familial and personal expectations.

Self in conflict?

Looking beyond the relative importance of relatedness and autonomy, we also expected that the notion of autonomy as separateness from others would be most pronounced in more individualistic cultural contexts (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2005). Accordingly, we hypothesized less motivational conflict between relatedness and autonomy in Turkey than in Belgium (Flanders) (see Table 6.1). To my knowledge, Study 2 is the first direct empirical test of cultural differences in the meaning of autonomy. Comparing the correlations between relatedness and autonomy across Turkish and Belgian students, this study revealed less conflict (a smaller, non-significant negative correlation) in Turkish students' self-construal then in the self-construal of Belgian students. Additional analyses on Study 1, however, revealed similarly conflicting self-construals among Turkish and Belgian students. This is evident from significant negative correlations between relatedness and autonomy in relation to both mother ($r = -.35$, $p < .001$ and $r = -.35$, $p < .001$) and teachers ($r = -.27$, $p < .01$ and $r = -.37$, $p < .001$), respectively for Turkish and Belgian students. I conclude that the evidence for cultural differences in degrees of conflict between relatedness and autonomy motives is mixed.

While Turkish students in Study 2 showed less conflict than Belgians as expected, Turkish students in Study 1 did not differ from Belgians. Possibly, more narrow measures of the constructs in Study 1 – as compared to Study 2 – are tapping those aspects of both motives that tend to be conflicting also in the Turkish cultural context (for details on the measurement of self, see Appendix 1.1). Also possibly, students who showed more conflict were more exposed or oriented to Western views of autonomy as separateness. Societal cultures are not static and especially urban segments of rather collectivistic mainstream cultures are subject to cultural change, which we see as a remote or indirect form of acculturation (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012). As distinct from direct acculturation when members of different cultural groups come into sustained first-hand contact in the context of migration (cf. infra), indirect acculturation refers to the psychological changes that follow from the transformation of mainstream cultures due to the societal impact of globalization and migration. Unfortunately, my studies do not include separate measures of cultural orientations to assess indirect acculturation at the individual level.

To sum up, my hypotheses about cultural differences in self-construal were partially confirmed. My findings add to the state of the art on culture and self: First, cultural differences in self can be understood in terms of how people define themselves as autonomous and related and how they combine being autonomous and related; second, selves are construed in social relationships with significant others; consequently, cultural differences in self are best conceived as situated in different relationships. Finally, the student samples suggest the importance of taking into account cultural change for a better understanding of self-construal in more collectivistic cultural contexts.

6.2.2. Self in the acculturation context

The second aim of my dissertation was to investigate acculturation processes in the context of migration through the lens of the self-construals of acculturating persons. To this end, I extended the cultural psychology approach that conceives of the self as culturally constituted and socially grounded in relations with others to the acculturation context. When persons migrate to another culture and/or engage in daily social contacts across cultures, their self-construal becomes attuned to new or different cultural contexts. As suggested by psychological acculturation research (Berry, 2005; Sam & Berry, 2010) and in line with existing evidence of acculturative changes in emotions (De Leersnyder,

2014) and personality (Güngör et al., 2013), I examined how self-construals are intertwined with acculturation processes. To this end, I associated the self-construals of acculturating persons with their acculturation attitudes towards maintaining the heritage culture and adopting the mainstream culture (cf. Berry, 2003).

Building on my cross-cultural studies and measures, I distinguished between relatedness and autonomy motives in the relationships of minority youth with their mothers and teachers. In the context of acculturation, mothers represent and transmit mainly the heritage culture whereas teachers represent mainstream cultural expectations. Both relationships constitute important immediate or proximal acculturation contexts for minority youth. In a first step, I compared the self-construals of Turkish and Moroccan minority youth in Belgium to the selves of their majority Belgian peers. Moreover, I examined how their self-patterns in relation to their mother are linked to their acculturation attitudes – measured as contact preferences for heritage and mainstream cultural members. My findings suggest linkages between culture maintenance and relatedness on one side and between culture adoption and autonomy on the other. Apparently, the self-construal of acculturating persons becomes attuned to mainstream cultural expectations of autonomy while also maintaining heritage cultural values of relatedness. Moreover, relatedness and autonomy motives were least conflicting in integrationist minority youth, i.e., when youngsters strive to combine both cultures. This finding is in line with well-documented differences in self-construal across relatively collectivistic (heritage) and individualistic (mainstream) cultural contexts (cf. supra). Finally, I investigated the association between their self-construals and the actual acculturation – measured as varying degrees of mainstream cultural exposure and language mastery in Belgian schools. My studies complement experimental evidence of cultural frame-switching between related and autonomous selves in response to situational cues (Hong, Morris, Chiu, & Benet-Martinez, 2000; Pouliasi & Verkuyten, 2006). They are part of a recent stream of acculturation research on acculturative changes in psychological processes, which documents cultural continuities alongside cultural changes in specific social contexts (cf. supra). They add to this line of research by extending a more fine-tuned conception of the self as a balancing act of relatedness and autonomy in specific relationships. This conception of self proved fruitful to improve our understanding of acculturating selves.

Cultural differences

I hypothesized that Turkish minority would be more related and less autonomous than majority Belgians – in line with the expected cultural differences in self-construal (see Table 6.1). To test this hypothesis, three studies in my dissertation compared relatedness and autonomy in relation to mother and teachers between minority and majority cultural groups in Belgium (Flanders). Study 3 (cf. Chapter 3) compared minority and majority self-construals in relation to mother among adult community samples. As hypothesized, Turkish minority adults were more related and less autonomous than majority Belgians in relation to their mothers. Likewise, in Study 4 (cf. Chapter 4) and in Study 6 (cf. Chapter 5), I compared the self-construals of minority and majority adolescents in relation to their teachers using large random samples of high-school students. As hypothesized, *Turkish minority youth were more related and less autonomous than their majority Belgian peers. Thus, I replicated cultural differences in self-construal across minority and majority adults and adolescents in relation to their mother and teachers.*

In addition, Study 4 extended cultural differences in self-construal to Moroccan minority adolescents (see Figure 6.1; also see Appendix II). Additional analyses revealed that Turkish and Moroccan minority youth did not differ in autonomy, yet Turkish youth were significantly more related than Moroccan youth. Although my research focus was not on different variants of collectivism in Turkish and Moroccan cultural contexts (cf. Gupta, Hanges, & Dorfman, 2002), it is noteworthy that the Turkish emphasis on relatedness does not necessarily generalize to other variants of collectivistic cultures (Güngör et al., 2013). Another possible explanation is that Turkish and Moroccan minorities differ in their emphasis on culture maintenance. There is some evidence that Turkish immigrant communities show higher levels of ethnic retention than Moroccan communities, which may explain accentuated relatedness in Turkish minority youth in particular (Crul & Doomernik, 2003; Lesthaeghe, Surkyn & Van Craenem, 2000).

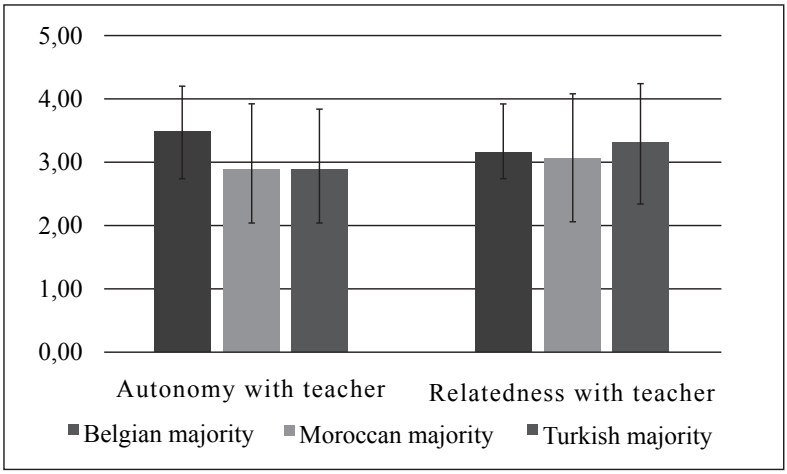

Figure 6.1. Cross-group comparisons of autonomy and relatedness in Study 4.

In addition, we hypothesized that there would be less conflict between autonomy and relatedness with mother in Turkish minority adults than in majority Belgian adults (cf. Table 6.1). Study 3 found evidence of conflicting relatedness and autonomy in relation to mother across acculturating and mainstream cultural groups. Yet, Turkish minority adults showed less conflict between relatedness and autonomy than majority Belgian adults. In additional analyses of possible conflict between relatedness and autonomy in relation to teachers across minority and majority youth (cf. Study 4), I found no significant correlations between relatedness and autonomy (r = .02, p = .60 for Turkish minority youth, r = .03, p = .50 for Moroccan minority youth, r = -.03, p = .25 for majority Belgians). As both self-scales and relationship contexts differ between Studies 3 and 4, the current studies are inconclusive. Future research should look more closely into when and which aspects of relatedness and autonomy are in conflict.

Acculturation attitudes

We also investigated how the acculturation attitudes of Turkish minority youth relate to their self-construals. We hypothesized that heritage culture maintenance and mainstream culture adoption would predict more relatedness and more autonomy respectively (see Table 6.1). To test these hypotheses, Study 3[23] (cf. Chapter 3) assessed acculturation attitudes as well as self-construals in

[23] The Study 3 in Chapter 3 includes findings on differences in self-construals across acculturation strategy clusters only (cf. infra). The findings regarding our predictions with acculturation attitudes can be Appendix 3 enclosing the additional analyses in which first autonomy, and then relatedness are regressed on cultural maintenance and adoption.

relation to mother among a community sample of Turkish minority adults in Belgium (Flanders). Acculturation attitudes were measured in terms of contact preferences for members of (Turkish) heritage and/or (Belgian) mainstream cultures. As expected, our findings show that Turkish minority preference for contact with members of the heritage culture (i.e., culture maintenance) predicted more relatedness in relation to mother. Conversely, their preference for contact with members of the mainstream culture (i.e., culture adoption) predicted more autonomy. These findings resonate with similar earlier findings relating acculturation attitudes to socialization goals of relatedness and autonomy in Turkish minority mothers (Durgel, Leyendecker, Yağmurlu, & Harwood, 2009) and to ethnic and national identifications of minority youth (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001).

Moreover, we hypothesized that integrationism – combining culture maintenance with adoption – would predict less conflict between relatedness and autonomy in Turkish minorities as compared to majority Belgians (see Table 6.1). Accordingly, Study 3 showed that Turkish minority adults who chose to integrate (i.e., high preference for contact with members from both heritage and mainstream cultures) showed a less conflicting self-pattern (i.e., a smaller negative correlation between relatedness and autonomy) than the majority Belgian. Alternate acculturation strategies of 'assimilation' (i.e., prioritizing adoption) or 'separation' (i.e., prioritizing maintenance) predicted more conflict between relatedness and autonomy. Whereas assimilationists strive for autonomy at the cost of relatedness, separationists maintain relatedness at the cost of autonomy. Yet neither assimilationists nor separationists differed significantly from majority Belgians in terms of degrees of conflict between related and autonomous selves. Apparently, the self-construal of 'integrationists' uniquely balances heritage and mainstream cultural expectations in relation to their mother. Both 'separationists' and 'assimilationists' showed a conflicting self-pattern. Whereas separationists' related self-construal prioritizes relatedness over personal autonomy –thus accentuating heritage cultural values (cf. Güngör, Bornstein, & Phalet, 2012); assimilationists' autonomous self-construal equates autonomy with separateness – in line with mainstream cultural individualism (Kağıtçıbaşı, Sunar & Bekman, 2001).

Actual acculturation

Looking beyond acculturation attitudes to the actual cultural exposure and competence of acculturating youth, my third hypothesis proposed that exposure

to the mainstream culture and mainstream language learning would predict more autonomy in relation to teachers (see Table 6.1). To test this hypothesis, Studies 4 and 5 (cf. Chapter 4) zoomed in on Turkish and Moroccan minority youth using repeated measures of their self-construal in relation to teachers in a longitudinal design (see Introduction section on Samples). As measures of actual acculturation, I used objective or external indicators of mainstream cultural exposure in school (i.e., educational career and school segregation) and mainstream language mastery (i.e., test performance in addition to self-reported language mastery and grades). My findings confirmed that minority youth in higher school-years (controlling for age), in academic tracks, and in less segregated schools were more autonomous in relation to their teachers, while relatedness to teachers was unaffected by mainstream cultural exposure. In addition, mainstream language mastery also predicted more autonomy from teachers, both concurrently in Study 4 and longitudinally in Study 5. Autonomy was unrelated to Turkish or Moroccan language use and vice versa, relatedness was unaffected by Dutch language mastery.

These findings highlight the role of the school environment in the acculturation of minority youth by exposing them to mainstream cultural models and messages in daily interactions with teachers. Conversely, early school leaving has been revealed as a major barrier for the social adjustment and inclusion of minority youth in Belgium (Flanders) – with long term consequences for their work life (Nouwen, Clycq, & Ulicna, 2015). Another barrier in the Belgian context is school segregation – i.e., the relative absence of majority peers from the schools that are attended mainly by minority youth. What is gained in acculturative adjustment as minority youth progress in their school careers is thus dampened by generally high and increasing levels of segregation in later years of schooling (Agirdag, Van Avermaet, & Van Houtte, 2013).

My findings of restricted culture learning in more segregated schools and tracks, should be qualified, however, in light of the overlap of cultural differences with structural inequalities in the Belgian (Flemish) school system. Thus, the inequality loop involves the over-representation of minority students in shorter and less demanding vocational (vs. academic) tracks and the overlap of minority status with working class origins and destinations in Belgian society (Pina, Corluy, & Verbist, 2015). Also, teachers in vocational training tend to grant less autonomy to their students than teachers in academic tracks, which dampens mastering autonomy (Van Houtte & Stevens, 2009).

Furthermore, the longitudinal effect of Dutch language mastery is in line with well-documented benefits of mainstream language mastery for acculturating youth (Chen, Benet-Martinez, & Bond, 2008; Schumann 1986). Importantly, Turkish and Moroccan minority students' mastery in their heritage language did not stand in the way of being autonomous from their Belgian teacher. As suggested by Berry's two dimensions of acculturation, the maintenance of the heritage language does not threaten the adoption of mainstream cultural ways. This is noteworthy against the background of common restrictive language policies in Flemish Belgian schools which often discourage or penalize the use of minority languages (Van Praag, Stevens, & Van Houtte, 2015). As a final note, additional analyses did not find significant moderation by Turkish or Moroccan cultural background for the association between Dutch language proficiency and autonomy from teacher. Finally, the fact that relatedness with teachers was unaffected by cultural exposure and language mastery is also in line with a bidimensional approach of acculturation. Apparently, the maintenance of relatedness by minority students, as a core aspect of their heritage culture, was independent of their actual acculturation into the mainstream culture.

To summarize, my findings established the expected cultural differences in self-construal between acculturating and mainstream cultural youth across relationships with mother and teachers and across adolescent and adult samples. Furthermore, I extended a contextual and bidimensional approach of acculturation to the self-construal of acculturating persons. The findings confirmed the hypothesized associations of a related self with heritage culture maintenance and of an autonomous self with mainstream culture adoption, exposure and (language) mastery. What have we learnt about Elif's acculturation experiences when she migrates or born into a migrant family from Turkey to Belgium? Her self-construal with both mother and teachers is likely to stress relatedness more and autonomy less than the self-construal of her majority peers. How she balances relatedness and autonomy will depend, however, on her acculturation attitudes and will change over time as she is exposed to mainstream cultural models of relating in school and as her Dutch language mastery improves.

6.2.3. Self and School Adjustment in Acculturating Youth

The final aim of my dissertation was to investigate how both relatedness and autonomy contribute to acculturative adjustment. To address this question, I focused on the relationship with Belgian teachers and how this predicts their

wellbeing and success in school. From a minority perspective, the school environment is a bicultural social world where youngsters learn to navigate both Turkish and Belgian cultural contexts and expectations (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2003; 2004; Mok, Morris, Benet-Martinez, Karakitapoğlu-Aygün, 2007). I reasoned that the way minority youth combine both cultures in their self-construal with teachers would have consequences for their school adjustment. My reasoning brings together separate strands of research relating adjustment outcomes to the self-construal of adolescents (Güngör, 2007), the quality of student-teacher relationships (Verschueren & Koomen, 2012), and the degree of cultural fit with mainstream cultural patterns (De Leersnyder, Mesquita, Kim, Eom & Choi, 2014). Specifically, I examined combinations of relatedness and autonomy in a specific relationship context which are related to school adjustment in general and the adjustment of minority youth in particular (cf. Davis, 2003; cf. Sabol & Pianta 2012; Verschueren & Koomen, 2012).

I hypothesized that relatedness with teacher would predict more engagement and better grades for Turkish minority and majority Belgian youth alike, while autonomy in relation to teacher would predict more engagement and better grades only for majority Belgian youth. Moreover, I expected that more autonomous Turkish minority youth would be more engaged and have higher grades when they are also more related (see Table 6.1). To test these hypotheses, Study 6 (cf. Chapter 5) used a subsample[24] of Turkish minority youth which was used in Study 4 (cf. supra) and supplemented it with a majority Belgian comparison sample in the same schools and classrooms (cf. Introduction section on samples). I compared their self-construals (cf. supra) as well as their school adjustment. Adjustment was assessed by measures of school engagement (affective) and grades. In line with the literature showing the educational disadvantages of minorities (e.g. Baysu, Phalet, & Brown, 2011), Turkish minority youth reported significantly lower levels of engagement and lower grades on average than majority Belgian youth (controlling for age, gender and test performance).

As expected, relatedness with teacher predicted school adjustment across cultural groups: Both Turkish minority and Belgian majority youth who were

[24] Both Study 4 and Study 6 are conducted with the first wave LeuvenCILS data. However, the first wave data collection was extended over a year for oversampling reasons. By the end of the first year, Study 6 was already conducted and written with a smaller sample, leaving the extended data for Study 4. My additional analyses replicate Study 6 results with the extended data as well.

more related to their teachers were more engaged and received higher grades. On the other hand, the adjustment benefits of autonomy were partially contingent on cultural background so that Turkish minority youth – but not majority youth – who were more autonomous reported lower levels of engagement. On the other hand both Turkish minority and Belgian majority youth who were more autonomous reported higher grades. Finally, combined relatedness with autonomy uniquely predicted sustained affective engagement and better grades only for Turkish minority youth – in line with the expected benefits of bicultural integration. Although this set of findings is in line with my predictions – hence suggesting that relatedness can be cross-culturally beneficial while Turkish minority may not easily benefit from mastering autonomy, there are two unexpected findings which deserve additional attention. First, the lack of association between autonomy and engagement for Belgian majority youth seems interesting in that Western literature has until now suggested autonomy as an important need for the healthy school development of North American and European youth. However, a recent research trend also started to show that this effect is socially stratified in that low-income youth may suffer from high expectations of autonomy and have lower school aspirations and outcomes (Hauser-Cram, Sirin, & Stipek, 2003; Stephens, Fryberg, Markus, Johnson, & Covarrubias, 2012). Second, it is promising to see the positive association between autonomy in relation to teacher and grades for Turkish minority and Belgian majority youth alike. Furthermore, the significant interaction of relatedness with autonomy for both engagement and grades suggest that Turkish minority youth can find a more promising school life when/if they can combine autonomy with relatedness, a cultural strength they already have. It may well be that these contingencies appear slightly differently depending on how school adjustment in conceptualized (e.g. Fredericks, Blumenfeld, & Paris, 2004).

To summarize, my research demonstrated the role of self-construal in the adjustment outcomes of minority (and majority) youth. Moreover, the findings show that acculturating youth in particular benefit from combining autonomy with relatedness to their teachers, both in terms of engagement and success. Combining both research goals on the acculturation of self and adjustment, my research suggests that mainstream cultural exposure and adoption enhance autonomy learning in minority youth. Yet, they may not contribute to better adjustment outcomes unless minority youth feel able to maintain relatedness in their interactions with Belgian teachers.

6.3. Theoretical contributions

The overarching research aim of my dissertation was to contextualize psychological acculturation from the vantage point of culturally informed and socially grounded self-construals. Comparing primarily Turkish and Belgian cultural contexts and groups, and focusing on relatedness and autonomy motives in relation to mother and teachers, my findings establish 1) cultural differences in self-construal in distinct relationship contexts as well as 2) associations of self-construal with acculturation processes in Turkish as well as Moroccan minorities and 3) acculturative adjustment in Turkish minority in Belgium. My research contributes to largely separate research streams on culture and self and on acculturation processes and it also adds to applied research on school adjustment. I will discuss my contributions to these distinct literatures in the following subsections.

6.3.1 Contributions to Cultural Psychology of Self

Cultural psychologists study how culture and psyche mutually constitute each other (Kitayama, 1991; Schweder, 1991). In support of a cultural psychology approach of the human mind, there is much evidence of cultural differences in the make-up of people's cognition, feelings and behaviors across the globe. My research focuses on people's self-construals, which have been shown to reflect culturally valued ways of being and relating (Heine, 2008). My findings build on and contribute to the extant literature in several ways.

To start with, I developed a more fine-grained conceptualization and measurement of cultural differences in self-construal by moving beyond a common distinction between interdependent and independent selves (cf. Cross, Hardin & Gerçek-Swing, 2011 for a review). Specifically, I distinguish between relatedness and autonomy as complementary and co-existing human motives in people's self-construals across cultures, but which are differentially valued in relatively collectivistic versus individualistic cultural contexts (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2005; 2007; see also İmamoğlu, 2003 for a similar approach). Whereas relatedness refers to affective closeness or distance in social relationships with others, autonomy is defined here as self-governance and independent decision making in relation to others. My self constructs and measures were originally grounded in an emic perspective on self-construal within a Turkish cultural context, yet there was preliminary evidence showing their cross-cultural validity and potential to capture substantive cultural variability in people's self-construals across Turkish, Belgian

and other cultural contexts (e.g., Güngör et al., 2014). Building on these earlier findings, my studies provide further evidence that relatedness and autonomy are cross-culturally equivalent and distinct constructs and they propose short cross-cultural measures of relatedness and autonomy which enabled us to pick up on the cultural differences in self-construal that we were interested in.

Most importantly, this conceptualization and measurement of self-construals proved a fruitful way to compare cultural patterns of self in my research. In a nutshell, cultural differences in relatedness were most consistently found across studies, in line with a greater emphasis on relatedness in the Turkish (vs. Belgian) cultural context. At the same time, cultural differences in autonomy were more restricted to specific studies and measures. This pattern of findings suggests that personal autonomy may become more important in younger generations – in combination with sustained relatedness values – as they are more commonly exposed to Western orientation toward individualism through so-called remote or indirect acculturation in a globalizing world (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012). Looking beyond a dichotomy between interdependent and independent selves in cultural psychology (cf. supra), my dual focus on relatedness and autonomy within people's self-construal thus allowed a more fine-grained analysis of cultural difference and cultural change in rather collectivistic societies like Turkey. In addition to combining relatedness and autonomy constructs at the cultural level, we were also able to explore how both motives were combined at the individual level (in terms of negative or zero correlations). In a nutshell, our findings showed that relatedness and autonomy are not always in conflict. Rather, degrees of motivational conflict are contingent on specific cultural and relational contexts – and most probably also on the specific measures of relatedness and autonomy that we used in the different studies. Looking across my studies, therefore, there was mixed and rather limited support for our expectation that prevailing views of autonomy as separateness from others in more individualistic cultural contexts may induce or increase motivational conflict between relatedness and autonomy in people's self-construals.

Another added value of my research for the culture and self field is that I contextualized self-construals in specific relationship contexts. This approach deviates from mainstream conceptualizations and measures of the self as detached from specific social contexts, assuming that self-construals are relatively stable over situations and over time (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2005). This assumption is problematic, however, from a cultural perspective on self-construal as socially grounded in

relationships and interactions with significant others (see Andersen & Chen, 2002 and Mc Connell, 2011 for reviews). Previous research showed that the self in more collectivistic cultures in particular is highly sensitive to social context (e.g., Imada, Carlson, & Itakura, 2013; Kashima, Kashima, Farsides et al., 2004). Also in Western cultural contexts, however, there is some evidence of relational differences in self-construals within cultures (e.g. Neff & Harter, 2003) so that either related or autonomous selves may come to the fore depending on specific relationships. My dissertation builds on these existing findings and focuses on two specific relationship contexts as vantage points from which I can articulate cultural differences more clearly and more precisely: relationships with mothers and with teachers as central socialization agents in family and school contexts respectively. Thus, my findings showed that cultural differences in self-construal were most consistent in relation to teachers as an under-researched relationship context in cultural psychology. I argued that possibly, relatedness in more individualistic cultural contexts may be more restricted to close relationships, such as family relations, so that differences between relatively individualistic and collectivistic cultures may be most pronounced in less close relationships, such as in work or school contexts. Indeed, cultural differences in relatedness with teachers were most consistent over different samples, settings and measures so that Turkish students in Turkey and in Belgium experienced more relatedness – or less separateness from their teachers than their Belgian peers. This pattern of findings provides initial support for the contextualization of self-construals that I proposed – in line with a more general conceptual approach of the self as shaped by people's repeated engagements in social interactions with others. While this general approach is far from new, it has not usually been implemented in empirical work on the self in cultural psychology (but see Uleman, Rhee, Bardoliwalla, Semin, & Toyama, 2000; Üskül et al., 2004 for exceptions). One limitation of my research is that both mothers and teachers represent relatively hierarchical relationships and hence vertical forms of cultural transmission. In this way, they differ from peer relations with friends, fellow students or colleagues, for instance, which represent a more egalitarian type of relationships or more horizontal forms of cultural transmission. Future research may include other or more different social relations and social interactions to articulate the interplay between people's self-construal in relation to others and the wider cultural context which imbues those relationships with meaning and purpose.

Finally, another added value of my dissertation which is worth mentioning is that it extends a recent stream of cultural psychology research into distinct variants of individualism – for instance, in Western European societies as distinct from North-American contexts – as well as collectivism – for instance, in other than East Asian non-Western contexts (e.g., Boiger, De Deyne, & Mesquita, 2013; see also Ruby, Falk, Heine, Villa, & Silberstein, 2012 for a comparison of collectivism between East Asians and Mexicans). In view of a predominant empirical focus on East-Asian and North-American student samples in much cultural psychology research, my dissertation shifts focus to rather less researched geographical and cultural contexts in The North-West of Europe and in the Mediterranean basin. Future research may want to explore variable levels and combinations of relatedness and autonomy in a wider range of cultural contexts.

6.3.2 Contributions to Acculturation Research

Extending our studies of cultural differences in related and autonomous selves in social relations (cf. supra), I examined acculturation processes through the lens of the self-construals of acculturating persons. Acculturation research documents the psychological consequences of cross-cultural contact when people engage in repeated interactions with members of new or different cultural groups, for instance when youngsters with a rather collectivistic cultural background migrate to, or when they are born into, a rather individualistic mainstream culture. There is much evidence that psychological acculturation processes unfold over time along distinct dimensions of heritage culture maintenance – underlying cultural continuities – and mainstream culture adoption – resulting in cultural changes (Berry, 2003; Ryder et al., 2000). Whereas most acculturation research has relied on self-reported attitudes towards culture maintenance and adoption as measures of these processes (Berry, 2003), my dissertation is part of a recent stream of research documenting more implicit acculturative changes in key psychological processes such as emotions and identity. Thus, there is evidence of acculturative changes in the emotional lives, the personality and the self-esteem of acculturating persons (De Leersnyder, Mesquita, & Kim, 2011; Güngör et al., 2013; Heine & Lehman, 2004). In my dissertation, I established that, like emotions and personality, construals of the self are subject to acculturation.

Furthermore, acculturation processes have been shown to be domain-specific (Arends-Tóth & Vijver, 2004; Chirkov, 2009). For instance, culture maintenance was found to be more important for minority members in family

contexts whereas culture adoption was more important in school or work contexts. My research takes the domain-specificty of acculturation one step further by zooming in on specific relationships as most immediate or proximal acculturation contexts. In line with my general approach of selves as negotiated in specific relationships, my research examined the self-construals of acculturating persons in relation to their mothers who mainly represent and transmit the heritage culture in the family context and in relation to their school teachers who represent and communicate mainstream cultural expectations. Interestingly, I could replicate cultural differences between the self-construals of minority and majority youth in relation to their mothers in their relationships with teachers as a less researched acculturation context. Also in cross-cultural contacts with Belgian school teachers and in line with their rather collectivistic cultural background, Turkish and Moroccan minority youth were more related and less autonomous than their majority Belgian peers. I conclude that my contextualized related and autonomous self-scales contribute less explicit and valid measures to capture more subtle cultural differences in the context of acculturation.

My research adds to acculturation studies by replicating and extending existing evidence associating relatedness and autonomy motives to acculturation attitudes (e.g., Durgel et al., 2009) on immigrant mothers' socialization goals for their children). Not only can we replicate associations of relatedness and autonomy with contact preferences for heritage and mainstream cultural members. We are also the first to show that acculturation preferences are intertwined with varying degrees of motivational conflict between relatedness and autonomy in minority youth. In particular, minority 'integrationism' or bicultural contact preferences were uniquely associated with less conflicting self-construals in comparison with majority youth. In view of mixed findings on the presence and degrees of motivational conflict, more research is needed to find out which aspects of the self can be conflicting for which persons in which types of relationships.

Explicit acculturation strategies can only reflect Turkish minority's socially desirable, overt intentions which may be loosely connected to the core acculturation processes such as emotions, personality and self-processes. Indeed most recent developments on the psychological acculturation research suggest a differentiation between those explicit measurement and more implicit conceptualizations of acculturation (e.g. Doucerain, Segalowitz, & Ryder, 2016). In my PhD dissertation, I adopted the view that preferences and actual experiences with the mainstream culture are intertwined in naturalistic acculturation contexts.

I showed that, in relation to Belgian teacher, mainstream cultural exposure is linked to autonomy and not relatedness both cross-sectionally and longitudinally. As a result, my research line could suggest to consider the acculturation process as a bidimensional process not only in the realm of attitudes and cultural exposure but also in how one of the basic elements of psyche (i.e., self) is (re)construed by Turkish minority.

In order to adopt a bidimensional approach to acculturation processes, one also needs to examine and acknowledge the adaptive value of culture maintenance: That minorities may derive strength from at least partially maintaining their cultural background. Throughout my research on acculturation, I thus went beyond a cultural fit approach which would defend that psychological and socio-cultural adaptation comes along how your psychological patterns fit into the mainstream culture (Ward, Leong, & Low, 2004; Ward, 2001), to better understand self and adjustment in the acculturation context. My findings suggest that the persisting cultural differences of Turkish minority should be considered as part of the acculturation process and they do not refute culture learning (cf. Studies 4 and 5). For Turkish minority youth, thus maintaining relatedness can be a facilitator to master autonomy as well as successful way of feeling engaged and striving better in school (cf. infra). In a similar vein, Nezlek and colleagues showed that cultural fit may be less important than the heritage cultural resource for minority members from more collectivistic background (Nezlek, Schaafsma, Safron, & Krejtz, 2012).

In general terms, I agree that the school adjustment is itself a developmental challenge for all youngsters as they continue to adapt to the society. On top of that, from a motivational account, both being related with and autonomous from one's teacher can be beneficial for all young students (e.g. Niemiec & Ryan, 2009). However, in my dissertation – specifically in Study 6, I went beyond this universalistic perspective and I suggested that the benefits of relatedness and autonomy might be conditional on the cultural background in the context of acculturation (Güngör, 2008; Phalet & Güngör, 2009; Yaman et al., 2010). My findings contribute to both lines of research by showing cross-cultural importance of relatedness with teacher, cultural differences in the role of autonomy in relation to teacher and the importance of combining both motives for Turkish minority youth's school adjustment. Therefore, again relying on a bidimensional framework of acculturation and further supporting an integrational approach for minority school adjustment, I posited that both culture maintenance and adoption

has an adaptive value in school for minority students' adjustment (Stuart & Ward, 2011; Ward & Kennedy, 1994). As such, I aimed at establishing a systematic link between self and the processes of acculturation by investigating not only the antecedents but also possible consequences of the acculturating self. In this latter sense, my work also goes beyond the acculturation research tradition which mainly focuses on family context and wellbeing type of adjustment outcomes. That I gave more weight to the school context (over family context) and my focus on achievement as well as engagement is based on the rationale that school life is key for youth development and constitutes future life possibilities for minority youth.

Furthermore, unlike the cultural frame-switching perspective which relies on inducing cultural schemas (Hong, Morris, Chiu, & Benet-Martinez, 2000), and thus may neglect primacy of heritage culture maintenance over adoption in specific relationships, I took a relational approach and I specifically asked my participants to rate how related and autonomous they are in their relationship with mother or teacher which reflect two social milieu representing separate cultural expectations. This approach also helped me to understand better the socially contingent nature of culture learning. As distinct from implicit cultural contagion models or individualistic cultural choice models of acculturation, I suggest that acculturation processes are bound to Turkish minority youth's environmental possibilities for cultural exposure as well as their active effort in practicing in the mainstream culture (i.e., their mainstream language mastery).

Finally, my dissertation is based on studying the European acculturation contexts which are generally less welcoming and more resistant to cultural diversity compared to the multicultural 'American dream' and supposedly kind, welcoming Canadian contexts. My findings on persisting cultural differences in Turkish minority (i.e., being more related and less autonomous than Belgian majority), is not unexpected given 1) cultural continuity findings 2) accentuated acculturation patterns in Turkish minority in Europe, a situation which is partially bound to the unwelcoming environment (Baysu et al., 2011; Güngör, 2008; Güngör et al., 2013; Nauck, 2001; Phalet & Hagendoorn, 1996). Although domain specificity hypothesis suggests that ethnic minorities may prefer different acculturation strategies at home and at school, current findings on persisting cultural differences in both relational contexts suggest that, on the level of personal relationships, these domain specificities do not seem to be reflected upon minority participants' self-construals.

6.4. Strengths, limitations and future directions

Throughout my PhD studies I conceptualized self-construal in terms of relatedness and autonomy motives that capture well cultural differences. As my research focus was primarily on Turkish minority, I also started with an emic Turkish perspective in adapting the measurement of relatedness and autonomy for teacher and mother relational contexts (see Appendix I). Beyond capturing relational specificities, this allowed me to do a more fine-grained analysis of the self-construals of acculturating youth in particular as they are simultaneously engaging with a rather collectivistic heritage culture and with a relatively individualistic mainstream cultural context. I adjusted my measures from existing autonomous and related self-scales which have been validated with student samples across Turkish, Belgian and other cultures (Güngör, Phalet, & Kağıtçıbaşı, 2008; 2013; Kağıtçıbaşı, 2007).

Most important to my research questions, I contextualized relatedness and autonomy in relationship with mother and teacher separately by considering possible meaning shifts in between relational contexts in which the constructs are embedded. To my knowledge, this is a rare attempt of considering the relational contexts of self-construals beyond the relationship with mother only (but see for example Üskül et al., 2004). This led me to also narrow down the definition of relatedness and autonomy but also allowed me to provide cross-cultural equivalence of the measures. Specifically, in terms of autonomy, the definition was limited to "independent decision making", hence to "independence" in relation to teacher (Studies 1, 4, 5, and 6) in contrast to a general understanding of the "opposite of heteronomy" (in Studies 2 and 3) as this relationship is much more structured and teachers' expectations focus on students gaining autonomy in exerting school tasks. In terms of relatedness, the definition was limited to "having warm and close relationship" (Studies, 1, 4, 5 and 6) in contrast to a combination of warm, close relationship combined with the inclusion of other into self (in Studies 2 and 3).

Furthermore, most of the findings from the research on culture and self is based on the cultural extrapolations, such as comparing North-American selves to Chinese selves. On the other hand, less is known about self-construal in European and Mediterranean regions and cultural traditions. So far, it has been articulated that these mild cultures may depict the variants of individualism and different facets of collectivism respectively. Accordingly, I studied Turkish and Belgian

self-construals which represent lower extrapolations between individualism and collectivism. In my cross-cultural comparisons I aimed at reaching samples with various age groups: I collected data from urban Turkish and Belgian university students, Turkish minority and majority Belgian members of community groups in Belgium as well as Turkish and Moroccan minority and Belgian majority adolescents. Hence, my conclusions are driven from different age groups (community sample – 1st and second generations versus student sample), social class (vocational versus academic). The variety of samples I used for my studies allowed me to make deductions on these cultural groups from a broader social, educational and developmental range.

Last but not the least, I used multilevel modelling and prospective longitudinal data. I protected the multilevel nature of the data in Studies 4, 5 and 6. Although my research questions were limited to the individual level, complying with the structural nestedness of school environment during data analysis is important in order to capture the individual level acculturation processes. Furthermore the prospective longitudinal data allowed me to observe the acculturative change of Turkish minority youth and evaluate the consistency of my arguments on the role of culture exposure and mainstream language learning in mastering autonomy.

Limitations and future directions. Across my studies, I used rather narrow definitions of self. In general, especially, the construal of autonomy goes beyond being independent and also encompass agentic and unbound self (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2005; İmamoğlu, 2003). Indeed, more recent research showed that there might even be a third component, namely 'conformity' which would help to disentengle conceptual overlaps in meaning between an agentic self and a conforming self as well as a close, warm relationship and inclusion of self into other (e.g. Güngör et al., 2014). To my knowledge, studying the same measures over different relational contexts also contribute for conceptual clarifications and increase ecological validity of the measures. Therefore I would suggest that future research continues to bring new relationship contextualizations (i.e., relationship with friend) for relatedness and autonomy with.

Additionally, although I provide various cultural comparisons in my dissertation, they may still be limited. I considered dual comparisons of Turkish and Belgian monocultural samples as well as Turkish minority and Belgian majority in Belgium; however, I couldn't yet compare self-construals of three cultural groups (monocultural Turkish, Turkish minority in Belgium and Belgian

majority). Future research should better consider a research agenda with trio-comparisons. Beyond the very well-known acculturating group of "Turkish minority in Europe", further research can also take into account other less devalued minority cultures or relatively individualistic minorities migrating to relatively collectivistic mainstream cultures in order to examine similarities with and differences from Turkish minority's acculturation of self.

Furthermore, my comparison of relationship contextualized self-construals across cultural groups was based on a between-subjects design. As a result, I couldn't test the extent of relational differences across cultures. Were Turkish students more relationship context dependent compared to Belgian students? My findings can't answer this question. On the other hand, my choice in economizing from full relational comparison had a rationale behind it: As the data collection for Study 1 was conducted at one time point, it would be methodologically impossible to induce self-construals in two different relational contexts one after the other without any time lapse in between. Therefore, future research focusing on cultural as well as relational comparisons of self-construals should consider two-time data collection from the same participants.

Acculturation processes involve dynamic interaction between minority and majority individuals; expectations and construals of selves are exchanged along intercultural contacts. In acculturation research, the general tendency is to explore and to explain how the majority cultural components (the school context, the peers, discrimination alike) have an effect on minority persons. Hence, it is generally conceptualized as a process of change solely in the minority members. My research followed this line of tradition. However, this allows less space to consider the dynamic interactive nature of acculturation should be also considered as a context. More recent research started to challenge this monocular approach and to explore the cultural changes from the majority's side (Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Senecal, 1997). Although my research considers the situated nature of self and puts emphasis on relational contexts, it is far from exploring this dyadic interaction, not only in terms of relational context but in terms of acculturative exchanges.

Finally, my approach to acculturation research stays on the individual level processes; it doesn't incorporate the role of intergroup dynamics in acculturation processes: For instance, in my PhD work, I do not address how a frequently occurring problem in the intercultural realm, ethnic discrimination would affect Turkish minority students' relatedness and autonomy while they

are being exposed to the mainstream cultural codes. Recent literature points that integration may not be always a best option to adjust especially when the levels of ethnic discrimination is high (e.g., Baysu et al., 2011). Although many studies investigated the link between discrimination and identity dynamics, to my knowledge, there is no direct evidence linking discrimination to self-construals and to adjustment in the mainstream culture. Therefore, future research on psychological changes during acculturation processes should address to the issues of ethnic discrimination from teachers and peers beyond (for example) school segregation.

Overall, in this dissertation, I have extended a cultural and relational approach to self to the context of acculturation in order to explain the interplay between cultural selves and acculturation processes in two relationships representing the critical social contexts for the construal of self as well as the acculturative adjustment. I conclude that (1) cultural differences in self-construals may emerge more prominently in some relational contexts rather than in others; (2) that acculturation encompasses changes in construals of self which can be better understood from a bidimensional approach and observable on the level of attitudes as well as actual culture exposure; 3) that acculturation of self can play a role in how minority youth adjust in school. In the case of Turkish minority youth in Belgium, from an integrational approach to cultural and relational selves, combining relatedness with autonomy in relation to teacher can be more promising for school adjustment. Finally, considering high rates of achievement gaps and early school leaving, my research findings would have two suggestions for policy changes in schools in Flanders: 1) Teaching/allowing minority youth to rely on their own cultural strength while mastering the mainstream cultural expectations as well as 2) providing increased intercultural contact by eliminating school segregation as well as early tracking may support would support positive minority youth development and may help them secure better their prospect in Belgium.

Table 6.1

Overview of Research Aims, Hypotheses and Results across Studies

Research Aims	Hypotheses	Results
AIM 1: Cultural differences in relatedness and autonomy	**Relative importance of relatedness and autonomy:** • Turkish students would be more related and less autonomous than Belgians. • Turkish and Belgian students would differ more in their relationship with teacher than in relation to mother.	**Studies 1 & 2:** • Cultural differences in relatedness and autonomy is confirmed across relationships (Study 1). • Cultural differences in relatedness and autonomy is confirmed in relationship with teachers (Study 1). • Cultural difference in relatedness with mother is found in Study 2 but not in Study 1. • Cultural difference in autonomy with mother is not confirmed (Study 1 and Study 2).
	Conflict between relatedness and autonomy: • There would be less conflict between autonomy and relatedness with mother in Turkish students than in Belgian students.	**Studies 1 & 2:** • Cultural difference in conflict in relationship with mother is found in Study 2 but not in Study 1 (additional analyses: Appendix).
AIM 2: Acculturation processes	**Relative importance of relatedness and autonomy in acculturation context:** • Turkish minority adults and youth would be more related and less autonomous than majority Belgians.	**Studies 3, 4 & 6:** • Cultural differences in relatedness and autonomy are confirmed in relationship with mother (Study 3) and with teacher (Studies 4 & 6).
	Conflict between relatedness and autonomy in acculturation context: • There would be less conflict between relatedness and autonomy with mother in Turkish minority than in majority Belgians	**Study 3:** • Cultural difference in conflict between relatedness and autonomy in relationship with mother is confirmed in Study 3. + Cultural differences in conflict in other studies are explored and not confirmed.

Table 6.1 (cont.d)

Overview of Research Aims, Hypotheses and Results across Studies

Research Aims	Hypotheses	Results
AIM 2: Acculturation processes (cont.d)	**Associations with acculturation attitudes:** • Attitudes toward Turkish contact (i.e. Heritage culture maintenance) would predict more relatedness with mother in Turkish minority. • Attitudes toward Belgian contact (i.e. Mainstream culture adoption) would predict more autonomy with mother in Turkish minority. • Integration (high maintenance and high adoption) would predict less conflict between relatedness and autonomy with mother in Turkish Belgians than either separation (high maintenance, low adoption) or assimilation (low maintenance, high adoption).	**Study 3:** • The positive association between heritage culture maintenance and relatedness with mother is confirmed. • The positive association between mainstream culture adoption and relatedness with mother is confirmed. • Less conflict between relatedness and autonomy in integrated Turkish minority confirmed.
	Associations with actual acculturation: • Mainstream cultural exposure would predict more autonomy in relation to teacher in Turkish and Moroccan Belgians. • Mastery in mainstream language predicts more autonomy with teacher in Turkish and Moroccan Belgians. + [No effects of cultural exposure or language mastery on relatedness with teacher were hypothesized.]	**Studies 4 (cross-sectional) & 5 (longitudinal):** • The positive association between mainstream cultural exposure and autonomy in relation to teacher is confirmed in Study 4 and the longitudinal effect is partially confirmed in Study 5. • The positive association between Dutch mastery and autonomy in relation to teacher and its longitudinal effect is confirmed in both studies + [No effects on relatedness with teacher were found in Study 4.]

Table 6.1 (cont.d)

Overview of Research Aims, Hypotheses and Results across Studies

AIM 3: Consequences for adjustment	**Associations with adjustment outcomes:** • Relatedness with teacher would predict more engagement and higher grades for Turkish Belgians and Belgians alike. • Autonomy with teacher would predict more engagement and higher grades for majority Belgian youth, not for Turkish minority youth. • Autonomy with teacher would predict more engagement and higher grades for more related, not for less related Turkish Belgians.	**Study 6:** • Positive link between relatedness with teacher and school adjustment is confirmed for engagement and grades. • Cultural difference in the positive link between autonomy and school adjustment is confirmed for engagement. • Cultural difference in the interaction of relatedness and autonomy is confirmed for engagement and grades.

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APPENDIX

Appendix I: Measurement of Self-Construals

Detailed information on the use, measurement and statistical information of Relatedness and Autonomy constructs for each study in my PhD dissertation are provided in this Appendix.

Study1 (cf. Chapter 2)

Related and autonomous self-scales (n = 6 items in each scale, 4 of which were reversed) were contextualized for relationships with mother and teacher and administered to N = 153 university students in Turkey and N = 276 university students in Belgium using a paper and pencil format in Turkish and in Dutch language respectively (see Table A11 for an English translation of Turkish and Dutch item wordings). For Relatedness and Autonomy in relation to teacher, first-year university students were asked to think of their most close class teacher. Response categories ranged from 1=totally disagree to 7=totally agree.

Measurement model with partial invariance

Four-group CFA confirmed the configural invariance of the measures across both cultural groups and in both relationship contexts ($\chi^2(212) = 445.806$, $p < .001$; CFI = .87; RMSEA = .05, SRMR = .06; see Table A1.2). Full factorial invariance was rejected however ($\chi^2(242) = 496.366$, $p < .001$; CFI = .86; RMSEA = .05, SRMR = .07; $\Delta\chi^2(30) = 50.561$, $p = .01$). Instead, a partially factorially invariant model was accepted – allowing one relatedness item and two autonomy items to vary between relationship contexts ($\chi^2(233) = 475.201$, $p < .001$; CFI = .87; RMSEA = .05, SRMR = .07; $\Delta\chi^2(21) = 29.395$, $p = .11$). The items with non-invariant loadings across relationship contexts suggest that for both Turkish and Belgian participants, task-related instructions or guidelines were more central to their relationship with teachers whereas self-disclosure was more central to their relationship with mother. Importantly, all items were shown to be factorially invariant across both cultural contexts ($\chi^2(116) = 355.254$, $p < .001$; CFI = .89; RMSEA = .07, SRMR = .07; $\Delta\chi^2(10) = 12.884$, $p = .23$).

Interfactor correlations between Autonomy and Relatedness in the final (partially factorially invariant) solution were -.45, -.37, -.34, -.30 respectively for Belgians in relation to mother and teacher and for Turks in relation to mother and teacher respectively.

Finally, external validity of Independence and Relatedness was assessed against Singelis Independent and Interdependent Self-Construals (Singelis, 1994; Üskül, Hynie, & Lalonde, 2004). Correlations are displayed in Table A1.3.

Table A1.1

Item wordings in English, Turkish and Dutch

Relatedness		
1. My relationship with my mother/teacher is/was an important part of who I am	1. Annemle /öğretmenimle ilişkimin güçlü olması benim önemli bir parçamdır.	1. Ik ben iemand die een sterke band heeft/had met zijn moeder/leraar.
2. When I feel sad I usually like(d) to talk about it with my mother/teacher.	2. Üzgün olduğumda annemle / öğretmenimle bunun hakkında konuşmak genellikle hoşuma gider.	2. Als er iets mis is praat(te) ik er graag over met mijn moeder/ leraar.
3. Most of the time I would spend time alone rather than spending time with my mother/teacher. (-)	3. Çoğu zaman annemle / öğretmenimle vakit geçirmektense tek başıma vakit geçirmek isterim. (-)	3. Meestal doe/deed ik iets liever alleen dan samen met mijn moeder/leraar. (-)
4. I am/was seldom occupied with the feelings and experiences of my mother/ teacher. (-)	4. Annemin/öğretmenimin duyguları ve yaşadıkları kafamı pek meşgul etmez. (-)	4. De gevoelens en ervaringen van mijn moeder/leraar houden/hielden mij zelden bezig. (-)
5. I do/did not share personal issues with my mother/ teacher. (-)	5. Kendimle ilgili şeyleri annemle /öğretmenimle paylaşmam. (-)	5. Met mijn moeder/leraar spreek/ sprak ik niet over persoonlijke dingen. (-)
6. I prefer(red) to keep a certain distance in my relationship with my mother/teacher. (-)	6. Annemle /öğretmenimle ilişkimde belirli bir mesafeyi korumayı tercih ederim. (-)	6. Ik bewaar(de) graag wat afstand in mijn relatie met mijn moeder/leraar. (-)
Autonomy		
7. I am usually afraid of deciding on my personal issues without consulting my mother/teacher. (-)	7. Anneme/öğretmenime danışmadan kişisel konularda karar vermekten genelde kaçınırım. (-)	7. Ik durf niet goed zelf iets beslissen zonder te vragen of mijn moeder/leraar het goed vindt. (-)
8. I can plan my future without my mother/teacher's guidance.	8. Annemin/öğretmenimin yönlendirmesi olmadan geleceğimi planlayabilirim.	8. Ik kan mijn toekomst plannen zonder dat mijn moeder/leraar mij de weg wijst.
9. I usually find it comforting if my mother/teacher chooses in my place what is good for me. (-)	9. Benim için iyi olanı annemin/ öğretmenimin seçmesi benim kolayıma gelir. (-)	9. Ik vind het gemakkelijk als mijn moeder/leraar in mijn plaats kiest wat goed is voor mij. (-)
10. I would prefer if my mother/ teacher tells me precisely how I should do everything. (-)	10. Annemin/öğretmenimin herşeyi nasıl yapmam gerektiğini harfi harfine söylemesini tercih ederim. (-)	10. Ik heb het liefste dat mijn moeder/leraar mij precies zegt hoe ik alles moet doen. (-)
11. When I am given a new responsibility, I need my mother/teacher to tell me what I have to do. (-)	11. Bana yeni bir sorumluluk verildiğinde annemin/ öğretmenimin ne yapmam gerektiğini söylemesine ihtiyaç duyarım. (-)	11. Wanneer ik een nieuwe verantwoordelijkheid krijg heb ik mijn moeder/leraar nodig om te zeggen wat ik moet doen. (-)
12. I set my own standards and goals for myself rather than my mother/teacher's.	12. Hedeflerimi ve ölçütlerimi annem /öğretmenim değil kendim belirlerim.	12. Ik stel mijn eigen doelen en eisen voor mijzelf, en niet die van mijn moeder/leraar.

Note. Item translations were not literal but aimed at optimally equivalent meanings. Reverse coded items are followed by (-).

Table A1.2

Multigroup Confirmatory Factor Analysis results with full items[25]

Latent Factors and Indicators	Estimates (SEs)
Relatedness	
*My relationship with my mother/teacher was an important part of who I am	.89 (.05)***
When I feel sad I usually like to talk about it with my mother/teacher.	1.00 (-)
Most of the time I would spend time alone rather than spending time with my mother/teacher. (-)	.61 (.06)***
I am seldom occupied with the feelings and experiences of my mother/teacher. (-)	.50(.05)***
I do not share personal issues with my mother/teacher. (-)	.96 (.08)*** (BM)
	1.10 (.09)*** (BT)
	1.52 (.20)*** (TM)
	1.31 (.23)*** (TT)
*I prefer to keep a certain distance in my relationship with my mother/teacher. (-)	.80 (.05)***
Autonomy	
*I am usually afraid of deciding on my personal issues without consulting my mother/teacher. (-)	1.00 (-)
*I can plan my future without my mother/teacher's guidance.	.69 (.07)***
I usually find it comforting if my mother/teacher chooses in my place what is good for me. (-)	.89 (.09)***
I would prefer if my mother/teacher tells me precisely how I should do everything. (-)	.81 (.10)*** (BM)
	1.34 (.16)*** (BT)
	.68 (.18)*** (TM)
	1.03 (.18)*** (TT)
*When I am given a new responsibility, I need my mother/teacher to tell me what I have to do. (-)	1.08 (.14)*** (BM)
	1.27 (.15)*** (BT)
	1.00 (.27)*** (TM)
	1.25 (.20)*** (TT)
I set my own standards and goals for myself rather than my mother's/teacher's.	.52 (.06)***

Note. (-) Reverse coded items. Parameter estimates are unstandardized. Standard errors are added between brackets. Significance levels: ***$p < .001$.
BM = Belgians with their mother; BT = Belgians with their teacher; TM = Turkish with their mother; TT = Turkish with their teacher. *Items starting with asterisk denote selected items for Studies 4, 5, and 6.

[25] This table is based on MCFA results also presented in Chapter 2 (see Table 2.1).

Table A1.3

Correlations of Relatedness and Independence with Singelis Self-Construals (SCS)

		Relatedness	Independence
Belgian students	SCS Interdependence	.15*	-.27**
	SCS Independence	-.05	.19**
Turkish students	SCS Interdependence	.19*	-.34**
	SCS Independence	.08	.14†

† $p < .10$; *$p < .05$; **$p < .01$

Measurement model with full metric invariance

While Study 1 (and the corresponding publication) reports analyses and findings based on the complete 6-item scales in view of optimal conceptual coverage and in spite of partial invariance across the relationships, these findings were fully replicated in additional analyses after excluding the 3 non-invariant items from the scales. Specifically, in the partial metric invariance model, two items of autonomy and one item of relatedness were not invariant across cultures and relationship contexts (see Table A1.4). The two items of autonomy that were not invariant across cultures represent very concrete forms of independent decision making which may be more conceivable in a Turkish than a Belgian context: "*I would prefer if my mother/teacher tells me precisely how I should do everything*" (Reversed item); "*When I am given a new responsibility, I need my mother/teacher to tell me what I have to do*" (Reversed item). The relatedness item that was non- invariant represents disclosure, a component of relationality that appears to be related to intimacy (i.e., having a close, warm relationship) in Turkey, but not in Belgium: "*I do not share personal issues with my mother/teacher*" (Reversed item). Moreover, disclosure and intimacy seem to be more intertwined in the mother than in the teacher context. To ensure that our conclusions would not change by including the full scale in the models, we also conducted MCFA, dropping the autonomy and relatedness items that were not fully invariant across cultures and contexts. The scale reached full metric invariance by dropping these three items. The main analyses and findings of Study 1 (Chapter 2) with this shorter scale are provided in Appendix II.

Table A1.4

Multigroup Confirmatory Factor Analysis by excluding three non-invariant items

Latent Factors and Indicators	Parameter Estimates (Standard Errors)
Relatedness	
My relationship with my mother/teacher was an important part of who I am	.96(.06)***
When I feel sad I usually like to talk about it with my mother/teacher.	1.00 (-)
Most of the time I would spend time alone rather than spending time with my mother/teacher. (-)	.62(.06)***
I am seldom occupied with the feelings and experiences of my mother/teacher. (-)	.51(.05)***
I prefer to keep a certain distance in my relationship with my mother/teacher. (-)	.82(.06)***
Autonomy	
I am usually afraid of deciding on my personal issues without consulting my mother/teacher. (-)	1.00 (-)
I can plan my future without my mother/teacher's guidance.	.78(.10)***
I usually find it comforting if my mother/teacher chooses in my place what is good for me. (-)	.89(.11)***
I set my own standards and goals for myself rather than my mother/teacher's.	.62(.08)***

Note. (-) Reverse coded items.
Configural invariance: $\chi^2(104) = 205.046$, $p < .001$; *CFI* = .90; *RMSEA* = .05, *SRMR* = .06
Full metric invariance: $\chi^2(125) = 229.552$, $p < .001$; *CFI* = .90; *RMSEA* = .04, *SRMR* = .07; $\Delta\chi^2(21) = 24.506$, $p = .27$

Studies 2 and 3 (cf. Chapter 3)

In these two studies, we adapted Kağıtçıbaşı's (2007) Self-construal scale (SCS) to mother relationship context. Moreover, we added 3 items from La Guardia, Ryan, Couchman, & Deci (2000): "When I am with my mother, I feel controlled and pressured in certain ways" ; "When I am with my mother, I feel free in acting as I feel."; "When I am with my mother, I can tell my opinions and express my ideas". The full scale contained 8 items of Relatedness and 9 items of Autonomy in relation to mother. Scales in Turkish and Dutch were administered to N = 70 university students in Turkey and N = 82 university students in Belgium

for Study 1 and to N = 72 first- and second-generation Turkish minority members and N = 53 Belgian majority members in Belgium using a paper and pencil format in Dutch language respectively (see Table A1.5 for an English translation of Turkish and Dutch item wordings). Response categories ranged from 1=totally disagree to 7=totally agree.

Given small sample sizes in both studies (hence, lack of free parameters), CFA could not be performed. Therefore, 2-group and 2-factor Simultaneous Components Analyses were performed. SCAs in both studies yielded 2 components for Relatedness and Autonomy. As seen in Table A1.6, the first two items from La Guardia, Ryan, Couchman, & Deci (2000) acted unexpectedly, the third item as stabilized in Study2. Moreover, the item "While making decisions, I consult with my mother" was also excluded given its high cross-loadings in both Study 2 and 3. As a result, three of 17 items were excluded in the process of measurement analyses (see Table A1.7). The common solution explained 52.75% for Belgians and 39.51% for Turks with explained variance by separate PCAs: 54.14% and 41.77%, respectively. 6 autonomy and 8 relatedness items had comparable meanings across Turkish and Belgian samples. Composite scales of Autonomy (6 items) and Relatedness (8 items) were formed based on the common SCA solution. In Study 2, reliability alphas were satisfactory for all scales, .76 for Belgian and Turkish autonomy, and .63 and .87 for Turkish and Belgian relatedness, respectively. In study 3, Relatedness scale had satisfactory internal reliabilities with alpha levels of .72 for Turkish Belgians and .80 for Turks. On the other hand, Autonomy scale had a low reliability in both groups (alpha = .41), due to one item that had a low item-total correlation: "I lead my life according to the opinions of my mother". Chronbach's alpha would increase to .74 and .77, respectively, if this item is deleted, but the results would not change after dropping this item. To make the scales of Study 2 and 3 comparable, we decided to keep this item in the autonomy scale.

Table A1.5 *English, Turkish and Dutch items (full scale)*

Relatedness		
1. During hard times, I need the support of my mother.	1. Zor zamanlarımda annemin desteğine ihtiyaç duyarım.	1. Ik heb er behoefte aan dat mijn moeder mij steunt als ik het moeilijk heb.
2. I keep a certain distance in my relationship with my mother. (-)	2. Annemle olan ilişkimde mesafeli olmak isterim. (-)	2. Ik bewaar graag genoeg afstand van mijn moeder. (-)
3. Generally, I don't talk to my mother on my personal issues.(-)	3. Genelde, kendimle ilgili şeyleri anneme anlatmam. (-)	3. In het algemeen praat ik met mijn moeder niet over persoonlijke zaken. (-)
4. My mother strongly influences my personality.	4. Kişiliğimin oluşmasında annemin etkisi büyüktür.	4. Mijn moeder heeft een grote invloed op mijn persoonlijkheid.
5. I think often of my mother.	5. Annem sık sık aklıma gelir.	5. Ik denk veel aan mijn moeder.
6. It is not important for me what my mother thinks of me. (-)	6. Annemin hakkımda ne düşündüğü benim için önemli değildir. (-)	6. Ik trek het mij niet aan wat mijn moeder over mij denkt. (-)
7. My relationship with mother is my top priority.	7. Annem, hayatımda en ön sıradadır.	7. Mijn moeder komt voor mij op de eerste plaats.
8. My relationship with my mother makes me feel peaceful and secure.	8. Annemle aramdaki bağ, kendimi huzur ve güven içinde hissetmemi sağlıyor.	8. Mijn nauwe band met mijn moeder geeft mij een gevoel van rust en veiligheid.
Autonomy		
9. ‡ When I am with my mother, I feel free in acting as I feel.	9. Annemleyken, içimden geldiği gibi davranmakta özgür hissederim	9. Wanneer ik bij mijn moeder ben, kan ik mezelf zijn.
10. ‡ When I am with my mother, I can tell my opinions and express my ideas.	10. Annemleyken, konular hakkında görüş bildirebilir, fikirlerimi dile getirebilirim.	10. Wanneer ik bij mijn moeder ben, voel ik mij vrij om te zeggen wat ik denk en te doen wat ik wil.
11. When I am with my mother, I feel controlled and pressured in certain ways. (-)	11. Annemleyken, kendimi bazı bakımlardan kısıtlanmış ve baskı altında hissederim. (-)	11. Wanneer ik bij mijn moeder ben, heb ik het gevoel dat ik aan haar verwachtingen moet voldoen. (-)
12. I lead my life according to the opinions of my mother. (-)	12. Hayatımı annemin düşüncelerine göre yönlendiririm. (-)	12. Ik leef mijn leven volgens de opvattingen van mijn moeder. (-)
13. The opinions of my mother influence me on personal issues. (-)	13. Benimle ilgili bir konuda, annemin fikirleri beni etkiler. (-)	13. De mening van mijn moeder heeft invloed op mijn persoonlijk leven. (-)
14. ‡ While making decisions, I consult with my mother. (-)	14. Kararlarımı alırken anneme danışırım. (-)	14. Als ik een beslissing moet nemen, vraag ik de mening van mijn moeder. (-)
15. On personal issues, I conform to the decisions of my mother. (-)	15. Benimle ilgili bir konuda annemin aldığı kararlar benim için geçerlidir. (-)	15. In persoonlijke zaken, accepteer ik de beslissingen van mijn moeder. (-)
16. I usually conform to the wishes of my mother. (-)	16. Genellikle annemin isteklerine uymaya çalışırım. (-)	16. Gewoonlijk probeer ik mij aan te passen aan de wensen van mijn moeder. (-)
17. I can easily change my decisions based on my mother's wishes. (-)	17. Kararlarımı annemin isteklerine göre kolayca değiştirebilirim. (-)	17. Ik kan gemakkelijk een beslissing veranderen om overeen te komen met mijn moeder. (-)

Table A1.6 *Common SCA-ECP based on all items (full scale)*

	Study 2		Study 3	
Relatedness	**.63**	-.23	**.54**	-.20
1. During hard times, I need the support of my mother.	**.63**	-.23	**.54**	-.20
2. * I keep a certain distance in my relationship with my mother. (-)	**.70**	-.01	**.53**	.03
3. Generally, I don't talk to my mother on my personal issues. (-)	**.71**	-.06	**.54**	.00
4. My mother strongly influences my personality.	.36	-.40	.43	-.41
5. I think often of my mother.	**.55**	-.21	**.66**	-.07
6. It is not important for me what my mother thinks of me. (-)	**.42**	-.01	**.41**	-.04
7. * My relationship with mother is my top priority.	**.55**	-.27	**.65**	-.42
8. My relationship with my mother makes me feel peaceful and secure.	**.80**	-.20	**.75**	-.42
Autonomy				
9. ‡ When I am with my mother, I feel free in acting as I feel.	**.67**	-.16	**.77**	-.12
10. ‡ When I am with my mother, I can tell my opinions and express my ideas.	**.70**	-.14	**.74**	-.14
11. ‡ When I am with my mother, I feel controlled and pressured in certain ways. (-)	**.53**	.30	.40	**.68**
12. I lead my life according to the opinions of my mother. (-)	.07	**.76**	.09	**.85**
13. The opinions of my mother influence me on personal issues. (-)	-.26	**.63**	-.06	**.69**
14. While making decisions, I consult with my mother. (-)	-.45	.56	-.46	.68
15. On personal issues, I conform to the decisions of my mother. (-)	-.21	**.69**	-.36	**.70**
16. I usually conform to the wishes of my mother. (-)	.07	**.79**	-.29	**.73**

‡ marks items from La Guardia, Ryan, Couchman, & Deci (2000). *Items starting with asterisk denote selected items for Studies 4, 5, and 6.

Table A1.7

Common SCA-ECP component weights for Autonomy and Relatedness items (as used in Studies 2 and 3)

		Study 2		Study 3	
Relatedness					
1.	During hard times, I need the support of my mother.	**.65**	-.20	**.57**	-.16
2.	I keep a certain distance in my relationship with my mother. (-)	**.71**	.00	**.49**	.03
3.	Generally, I don't talk to my mother on my personal issues. (-)	**.70**	-.04	**.47**	.01
4.	My mother strongly influences my personality.	**.45**	-.38	**.58**	-.32
5.	I think often of my mother.	**.64**	-.19	**.76**	-.01
6.	It is not important for me what my mother thinks of me. (-)	**.49**	.00	**.49**	.01
Autonomy					
7.	‡When I am with my mother, I feel controlled and pressured in certain ways. (-)	**.47**	.30	.38	**.69**
8.	I lead my life according to the opinions of my mother. (-)	.07	**.78**	.10	**.87**
9.	The opinions of my mother influence me on personal issues. (-)	-.27	**.60**	-.12	**.69**
10.	On personal issues, I conform to the decisions of my mother. (-)	-.20	**.70**	-.40	**.70**
11.	I usually conform to the wishes of my mother. (-)	.05	**.80**	-.40	**.70**
12.	I can easily change my decisions based on my mother's wishes. (-)	-.13	**.68**	-.22	**.75**

Studies 4 and 5 (cf. Chapter 4)

In these studies (as an integrated part of Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study), we had the two items of autonomy and the two items of relatedness decided as a result of MCFA in Study 6[26] (see Table A1.9 in this appendix). Given the formal educational language in the Flemish region of Belgium, students were provided only Dutch version of all scales. The statements were rated on a five-point Likert-type scale (from t*otally disagree to totally agree*). Distance and dependence indicators were reverse coded so that higher scores signify more relatedness and independence respectively.

The MCFA model was under-identified given a lack of sufficient parameters to force invariance; therefore, Simultaneous Cluster Analyses (SCA; De Roover, Ceulemans, & Timmerman, 2012) were conducted. 2-clusters (Turkish and Moroccan minorities) and 2-components SCA yielded Independence and Relatedness subscales. The total variance explained by the SCA-ECP solution (i.e., a model with variances and covariances of components restricted to be equal across cultural groups) was not lower than the variance explained by an orthogonally rotated PCA for each sample separately, suggesting comparable meanings for all items across Turkish and Moroccan samples (See Table A1.8). For Study 4, Spearman-Brown coefficients were below the margin (>.60) with ρ = .44 and ρ = .51 for Independence and with ρ = .51 and ρ = .51 for Relatedness, for Turkish and Moroccan minority students, respectively. For Study 5, Spearman-Brown coefficients for students' second year Independence and Relatedness in relation to teacher were comparable if not better than the previous year but still on the margin of reliability (For autonomy: ρ = .54 and ρ = .58; for Relatedness: ρ = .40 and ρ = .55 for Turkish and Moroccan minority students, respectively).

[26] Unlike the chapter ordering, Study 6 which is based on first wave data collected from CILS was conducted, analyzed and written before Studies 4 and 5 which are based on an extended first wave (also collected during the second year of the fieldwork) as well as second wave data. Therefore, the item selection for CILS second wave questionnaires, hence the measurement development for Relatedness and Autonomy in relation to teacher in Studies 4 and 5 was decided based on Study 6.

Table A1.8
Separate SCA and Clusterwise SCA-ECP Results for Autonomy and Relatedness in Relation to Teacher

	Study 4						Study 5					
	Turkish minority (%66.07)		Moroccan minority (%67.41)		SCA-ECP (Turkish: % 66.06; Moroccan:% 67.40)		Turkish minority (%65.54)		Moroccan minority (%62.63)		SCA-ECP (Turkish: % 65.43; Moroccan:% 62.50)	
Fit Values (Percentage of Explained Variance)	%66.79		%66.78				%66.79		%66.78			
Autonomy												
I am usually afraid of deciding on my personal issues without consulting my teacher. (-)	.03	**.80**	.04	**.89**	.04	**.86**	-.10	**-.79**	.08	**-.77**	-.03	**-.79**
When I am given a new responsibility, I need my teacher to tell me what I have to do. (-)	-.01	**.80**	-.04	**.89**	-.03	**.86**	.14	**-.73**	.00	**-.79**	.08	**-.75**
Relatedness												
My teacher and I live in different worlds. (-)	**.85**	.08	**.96**	.04	**.91**	.06	**.83**	.05	**.83**	-.02	**.84**	.02
I prefer to keep a certain distance in my relationship with my teacher. (-)	**.85**	-.06	**.94**	-.04	**.90**	-.05	**.82**	-.10	**.79**	-.06	**.83**	-.08

Note. Percentages between parentheses denote explained variance for separate groups.

Study 6 (cf. Chapter 5)

Specific to Children of Immigrants Longitudinal study, a combined measurement for Relatedness and Autonomy was constructed based on three observational criteria: High loadings, stable estimates across cultural or relational contexts and appropriateness for student-teacher relationships in Belgium. Specifically, we selected three items of Autonomy in relation to teacher, which represent "autonomous decision making vs. dependence" from Study 1 (Coşkan, Phalet, Güngör, & Mesquita, 2016) and we selected two items of Relatedness with teacher which represent "emotional closeness vs. distance" from Studies 2 and 3 (See items with asterisk in Table A1.2 and in Table A1.6). One additional item of Relatedness ("My teacher and I live in different worlds") was inspired from Güngör and colleagues (Güngör, Karasawa, Boiger, Dinçer, & Mesquita, 2014). Given the formal educational language in the Flemish region of Belgium, students were provided only Dutch version of all scales (see Table A1.9). The statements were rated on a five-point Likert-type scale (from t*otally disagree to totally agree*). Distance and dependence indicators were reverse coded so that higher scores signify more relatedness and independence respectively.

For Study 6, the measurement model could be assessed with Multi-group Confirmatory Factor Analysis (MCFA) only after positively worded items were taken out (on the measurement problems about the simultaneous use of positively and negatively worded items: Roszkowski & Soven 2010). This model with 4 items confirmed cross-cultural invariance for Turkish minority and majority Belgian youth (see Table A1.10). However, it should be noted that the scales were unbalanced suggesting lack of stability of the estimates stemming from negative wording (Roszkowski & Soven 2010). Inter-factor correlations were non-significant: r = -.02 and -.08, for Turkish minority and majority Belgian groups respectively. Internal consistencies (as measured by Spearman-Brown coefficients) were ρ = .67 and ρ =.58 for Relatedness and ρ = .62 and ρ = .68 for Autonomy respectively for Turkish minority and majority Belgian groups. For all but Relatedness for Belgian minority being on the margin, the reliability coefficients were in the acceptable range of minimum .60.

Table A1.9

Item translations for Autonomy and Relatedness

CILS Wave 1	CILS Wave 2	English (Wave 1/Wave 2)
Relatedness		
1. Ik ben iemand die een sterke band heeft met zijn leraar.	1. -	1. I am the kind kind of person who gives importance to his relationship with her teacher/ My relationship with my teacher was an important part of who I am.
2. Ik bewaar graag wat afstand in mijn relatie met mijn leraar.	2. Ik word liever niet persoonlijk in mijn omgang met mijn leerkrachten.	2. I prefer to keep a certain distance in my relationship with my teacher. / I prefer not to involve my teachers in my personal dealings (-)
3. Ik heb soms het gevoel dat mijn leraar en ik in andere werelden leven.	3. Ik voel een grote afstand tussen mijn leerkrachten en mijzelf.	3. I have got the feeling that my teachers and me live in other worlds. / I feel a great distance between my teachers and me. (-)
Autonomy		
4. Ik kan mijn toekomst plannen zonder dat mijn leraar mij de weg wijst.	4. -	4. I can plan my future without my teacher's guidance.
5. Ik durf niet goed zelf iets beslissen zonder te vragen of mijn leraar het goed vindt.	5. Ik durf niet goed zelf iets beslissen zonder te vragen of mijn leerkrachten het goed vinden.	5. I am usually afraid of deciding on my personal issues without consulting my mother. (-)
6. Wanneer ik een nieuwe verantwoordelijkheid krijg heb ik mijn leraar nodig om te zeggen wat ik moet doen.	6. Ik heb liever dat mijn leerkrachten in mijn plaats kiezen wat goed voor mij is.	6. When I am given a new responsibility, I need my teacher to tell me what I have to do./ I prefer that my teachers in my place to choose what is good for me. (-)

Table A10.1

Items of Autonomy and Relatedness in Relation to Teacher in MCFA for Study 6

Latent factors and Indicators	Parameter Estimates (Standard Errors)
Autonomy	
I am usually afraid of deciding on my personal issues without consulting my teacher. (-)	1.00
When I am given a new responsibility, I need my teacher to tell me what I have to do. (-)	2.40 (1.53)
Relatedness	
I prefer to keep a certain distance in my relationship with my teacher. (-)	1.00
My teacher and I live in separate worlds. (-)	.36 (.03)***

Note. (-) Reverse coded items. ***$p < .001$.
Configural invariance: $\chi^2(3) = 4.75$, $p = .19$; CFI = .99; RMSEA = .02. Full factorial invariance or metric invariance: $\chi^2(5) = 5.63$, $p = .34$; CFI = .99; RMSEA = .01; $\Delta\chi^2(2) = .88$, $p = .64$.

Appendix II: Additional Analyses for cultural comparisons of Relatedness and Autonomy

Study 1 (cf. Chapter 2)

Replication of main study findings with fully invariant Autonomy and Relatedness scales

Our results of main analyses with shortened (fully invariant) scales replicated our findings with the full scales as reported in Chapter 2. As in Chapter 2, we centered the data before submitting them to Multivariate and Univariate Analyses of Variance.

Aggregating autonomy and relatedness scores across relationship contexts, Belgian students were more autonomous $F(1, 421) = 6.96$, $p = .009$, $\eta^2 = .02$, and less related $F(1, 421) = 9.44$, $p = .002$, $\eta^2 = .02$ than Turkish students (see Table A2.1 for mean scores).

There were no cultural differences in the mother context: Neither autonomy, $F(1, 421) = .99$, *ns*) nor relatedness levels, $F(1, 421) = .01$, *ns*) differed between Belgian and Turkish youth. However, significant cultural differences were found in the teacher context: Belgian students were both significantly more autonomous, $F(1, 421) = 8.08$, $p = .005$, $\eta^2 = .02$, and significantly less related, $F(1, 421) = 20.89$, $p = .001$, $\eta^2 = .05$ than Turkish students.

Within-culture comparison yielded similar patterns: Students rated themselves as more autonomous and less related to teachers than to mothers (Autonomy: $F(1, 421) = 29.36$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .07$ for Belgian students, and $F(1, 421) = 5.5$, $p = .02$, $\eta^2 = .01$ for Turkish students; Relatedness: $F(1, 421) = 219.47$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .34$ for Belgian students, and $F(1, 421) = 45.55$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .10$, for Turkish students).

Table A2.1

Means and Standard Deviations for Shortened (Fully Equivalent) Scales

	Autonomy		Relatedness	
	Belgian students	**Turkish students**	**Belgian students**	**Turkish students**
Mother	5.12 (.93)	4.99 (1.03)	5.25 (1.26)	5.11 (1.09)
Teacher	5.74 (.81)	5.35 (1.07)	3.31 (1.07)	3.87 (1.01)
Aggregated	5.43 (.92)	5.18 (1.06)	4.27 1.52)	4.47 (1.21)

Study 4 (cf. Chapter 4)

Correlations

Correlations between relatedness and autonomy in relation to both mother (r = -.35, p < .001 and r = -.35, p < .001) and teachers (r= -.27, p < .01 and r = -.37, p < .001), respectively for Turkish and Belgian students.

Level Comparisons

I provide additional analyses by using the minority as well as majority sample in Study 4 to compare Turkish (N = 521) and Moroccan (N = 591) minority students' autonomy and relatedness in relation to their teacher, to Belgian majority students' (N = 2788) relatedness and autonomy. I conducted Analyses of Variance controlling for adolescents' age, gender, educational track as well as cognitive performance. For relatedness: $F(2, 2781) = 60.07$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .04$; $M = 3.27$, $SD = .94$, $M = 3.09$, $SD = 1.00$ and $M = 3.14$, $SD = .82$ for Turkish and Moroccan minority youth and majority Belgian youth, respectively. For autonomy: $F(2, 2781) = 8.92$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .01$; $M = 2.91$, $SD = .94$, $M = 2.97$, $SD = .96$ and $M = 3.37$, $SD = .82$ for Turkish and Moroccan minority youth and majority Belgian youth, respectively. Hence, additional analyses revealed that Turkish and Moroccan minority youth (not significantly different from each other) were less related than their Belgian majority peers. On the other hand, Turkish minority youth were more related with their teacher compared to their Moroccan and Belgian peers (who didn't significantly differ from each other), (see Figure A2.1).

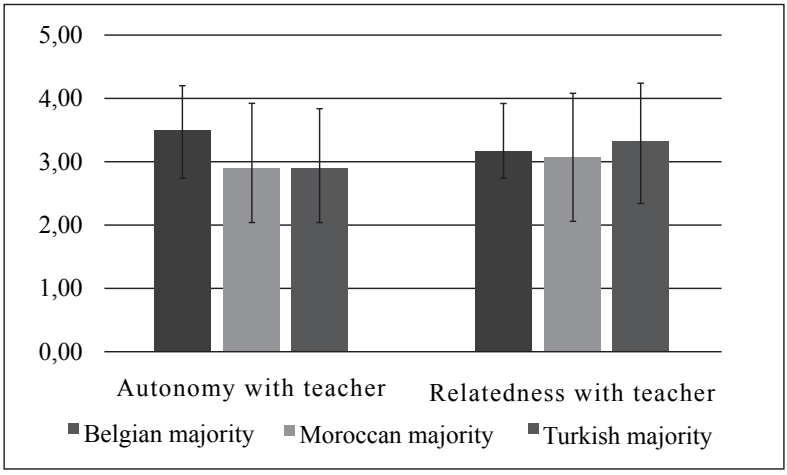

Figure A2.1. Cross-group comparisons of autonomy and relatedness.

Appendix III: Associations between Self-construals in Relation to Mother and Acculturation Attitudes in Study 3

In Study 3 (cf. Chapter 3), to examine unique associations of acculturation orientations with Turkish minority's autonomy and relatedness in relation with their mothers, we conducted two hierarchical regressions, the first with autonomy and the second with relatedness as dependent variables. Education level and immigrant generation were entered in the first block and acculturation attitudes (i.e. Preferences toward maintaining Turkish contact and toward adopting Belgian contact) were fit in the second block to predict the levels of Autonomy and Relatedness in relationship with mother (see Table A3.1). As expected, increased attitude toward adoption was associated with increased Autonomy. Turkish minorities who endorsed contact with the members of the mainstream culture more favorably were more autonomous in their relationships with their mothers. In testing our hypothesis about relatedness and acculturation orientations, the explained variance by the two blocks did not reach significance in predicting relatedness. However, suggesting partial support for our hypothesis, increased attitude toward maintenance was associated with increased relatedness to mother. Turkish minorities who endorsed contact with the members of the heritage culture more favorably were more related to their mothers.

Table A3.1

Associations between Acculturation Attitudes and Relatedness and Autonomy

	Relatedness in relation to mother				Autonomy in relation to mother			
	B	SE B	*β*	*p*	B	SE B	*β*	*p*
Step 1								
Education	-.27	.20	-.19	.17	.37	.25	.19	.153
Immigrant Generation	-.22	.28	-.11	.423	-.96	.35	-.34	.009
Step 2								
Attitudes toward Maintenance	.17	.10	.21	.104	-.06	.13	-.05	.682
Attitudes toward Adoption	.15	.11	.18	.166	.32	.14	.28	.025
R^2 Change	$R^2 = .06$, $p = .16$				$R^2 = .08$, $p = .05$			

Appendix IV: Additional Analyses in Study 4

Explanation on the use of Stratum variable

The CILS data originally enclose four stratum as provided by the estimated proportion of minority students per school. In Studies 4 and 5, four stratum are used as well. However, given low representation of Turkish and Moroccan minority youth in the first and second stratum (see Introduction, under section *1.3.2.2 Samples and Comparative Design*), a new stratum variable which has three categories was computed by collapsing 1st and 2nd stratum. In Chapter 4, "1st stratum", therefore refers to first and 2nd stratum as enclosed in CILS data. In Study 4, the original distribution of Turkish and Moroccan minority youth across stratum were: 5%, 11%, 38% and 46% for 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th stratum, respectively. Hence, with the two stratum collapsed onto one category, the distribution became 16%, 38% and 46% referred as 1st, 2nd and 3rd stratum for the new stratum variable (Table A4).

Table A4

Distribution of Turkish and Moroccan Youth across Stratum

STRATUM (Percentage of Minority students in the school)	CILS Extended (Year 1 + Year 2) First Wave	Study 4	CILS First and Second Wave	Study 5
1st Stratum (< .10)	n = 74 (5%)	n = 217 (16%)	n = 33 (8%)	n = 87 (21%)
2nd Stratum (.10 to .30)	n = 143 (11%)		n = 54 (13%)	
3rd Stratum (.30 to .60)	n = 509 (38%)	n = 509 (38%)	n = 125 (30%)	n = 125 (30%)
4th Stratum (> .60)	n = 627 (46%)	n = 627 (46%)	n = 196 (48%)	n = 196 (48%)
Missing	n = 0	n = 0	n = 2 (%1)	n = 2 (%1)

Moderation of ethnic background for Independence and Dutch Proficiency?

As reported in the main analyses, Turkish minority youth scored lower on objective and self-report Dutch proficiency. Although cultural differences are not to be expected, given the relatively better language achievement of Moroccan minority in the current study as well as in other studies conducted in Belgium (e.g. Baysu, 2011), I provide additional analysis in which I explored the role of ethnic background in the association between Dutch proficiency and Independence. The additional analysis did not yield significant interaction between ethnic background and Dutch test scores, suggesting that although there is a well-known Dutch learning gap between Turkish and Moroccan minority, this may not intervene in minority youth's mastering of Independence.

Table A4.1

Interaction between Dutch test scores and Ethnic background to predict Independence in relation to teacher

	Model 4a	Model (Dutch*Ethnic Group)
Fixed Part:		
Intercept	2.824 (.077)***	2.839 (.078)***
Gender (reference: Boys)	.023 (.052)	.023 (.052)
Age	.023 (.031)	.020 (.031)
Education year (reference: 1st year)		
2nd year	-.031 (.077)	-.026 (.077)
3rd year	.189 (.096)*	.203 (.096)**
Stratum (reference: 3rd Stratum)		
2nd Stratum	-.048 (.057)	-.045 (.057)
1st Stratum	.144 (.077)*	.156 (.077)*
Educational track (reference: Vocational) Academic track	.018 (.057)	.029 (.057)*
Dutch mastery	1.067 (.162)***	1.031 (.164)***
Dutch Test X Ethnic group Turkish		-.067 (.054)
Random part: Residual variances		
School level	.000 (.000)	.000 (.000)
Class level	.000 (.000)	.000 (.000)
Individual level	.829 (.033)***	.828 (.033)***
Explained variance on individual level	100%	100%
Model fit		
Number of parameters	10	11
-2*LL (IGLS)	3294.802	3293.223
$\Delta\chi^2$		1.579
N		1243

Note. Gender: 0 = Boys, 1 = Girls; Education year: 1 = 1st Year, 2 = 2nd Year, 3 = 3rd Year; Stratum: 0= Third stratum, 1= Second stratum, 2 = First stratum; Educational track: 0 = Vocational track, 1 = Academic tracks.
Unstandardized coefficients B and standard errors are provided; *$p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Subjective indicator of Turkish/Arabic (Berber) Mastery

From a cultural integrative perspective, we argue that minority students' heritage language proficiency is not at the cost of being independent in relation to teacher (Berry, 2009; Coşkan, De Leersnyder, Mesquita, & Phalet, under review; Ağırdağ, Jordens, & Van Houtte, 2014). We therefore did not expect any significant association of students' subjective ratings of Turkish/ Berber Proficiency with our study variables. In Study 4, we tested whether adding Turkish/Berber Proficiency to the model with cultural exposure produced better model fit and significant estimate ($n = 646$). Self-reported heritage (Turkish or Berber) language proficiency were computed based on students' indication of how well they think they i) speak, ii) read, iii) write and iv) understand Turkish or Berber (depending on their ethnic background) (from 1 = not well at all to 5 = perfect). This self-reported Turkish/ Berber proficiency scale had a high internal reliability for both Turkish ($\alpha = .93$) and Moroccan ($\alpha = .85$) students.

Results revealed that despite the significant increase in the model fit (see Table A4.2, Model 4d), self-reported Turkish/Berber proficiency was not significantly associated with minority students' independence in relation to their teacher. We conclude that minority students' heritage language proficiency is dissociated from their independence in relation to their Belgian teacher.

Table A4.2

Models on Independence with Exposure to Belgian Culture and Self-Report Turkish/Berber Proficiency

	Model 3 (Hypothesis 1c)	**Model 4d**
Fixed Part:		
Intercept	2.731 (.077)***	2.822 (.114)***
Gender (Girl)	.005 (.053)	-.059 (.074)
Age	.015 (.032)	.002 (.043)
Education year		
2nd year vs. 1st year	.005 (.079)	-.068 (.109)
3rd year vs. 1st year	.267 (.097)**	.232 (.130)*
Stratum		
3rd Stratum vs. 2nd Stratum	.187 (.079)**	-.038 (.094)
3rd Stratum vs. 1st Stratum	-.054 (.059)	.196 (.106)*
Educational track Academic vs. Vocational track	.113 (.056)*	.012 (.084)
Turkish/Moroccan mastery		-.025 (.033)
Random Part: **Residual variances**		
School Level	.000 (.000)	.009 (.015)
Class Level	.008 (.016)	.024 (.031)
Individual Level	.854 (.037)***	.783 (.051)***
Explained variance on Individual Level	99%	99%
Model fit		
Number of Parameters	9	10
-2*LL (IGLS)	3382.592	1700.072
$\Delta\chi^2$	43.997***	1682.52***

Note. Gender: 0 = Boys, 1 = Girls; Stratum: 1= Third stratum, 2= Second stratum, 3 = First stratum; Educational Track: 0 = Vocational Track, 1 = Academic Tracks. Unstandardized coefficients B and standard errors are provided; *$p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Appendix V: Replicating Study 6 (cf. Chapter 5) results with a larger sample of CILS Wave 1

Study 6 analyses were conducted with the first wave data from the first year. However, first wave data collection continued during the second year of the CILS project resulting in a larger sample of Turkish minority (N = 623) and Belgian majority (N = 1875). Therefore, I replicate my findings for Study 6 with first Wave data collected in first *and* second years. The variables and the analysis strategy follows exactly the same steps used in Study 6, hence not repeated here.

Cultural differences in relatedness and independence

Replicating Study 6 findings, the addition of cultural group to the equation significantly increased explained variance for both Relatedness and Independence in relation to teacher, with each time significant estimate of cultural group (See Table A5.1). Thus, compared to their Belgian majority peers, Turkish minority youth was more related (h1a, See Figure A5.1) and less autonomous (h1b, See Figure A5.2) in relation to their teacher.

Table A5.1

Multi-level Models of Self-Construals across Cultural Groups: Effects of Culture on Independence and Relatedness

	Relatedness	**Independenc**
Fixed part:		
Intercept	3.054 (.034) ***	3.339 (.035) ***
Gender	.123 (.036) ***	-.002 (.036)
Age	-.073 (.017) ***	.058 (.018) ***
Track	.021 (.051)	-.052(.052)
Cognitive performance	.387 (.115) ***	.434 (.115) ***
Culture	.169 (.047) ***	-.399 (.048) ***
Random part: Residual variances		
School level	.016 (.006) **	.020 (.007) **
Individual level	.691 (.020) ***	.697 (.021) ***
Model fit		
Degrees of freedom	8	8
-2 LL (IGLS)	5828.822	5858.832
$\chi^2(5)$	209.378***	233.505***
N	2437	2438

Note. Reference categories: Gender (boys), Culture (majority), Track (academic). Unstandardized coefficients B and standard errors are provided. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

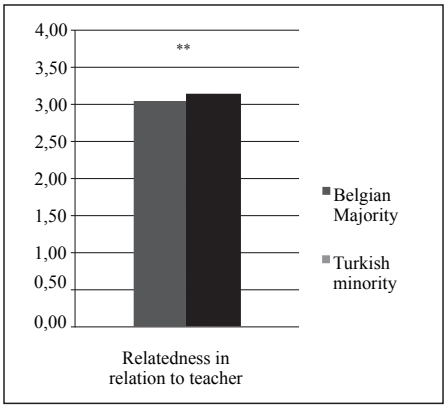

Figure A5.1 Levels of Relatedness

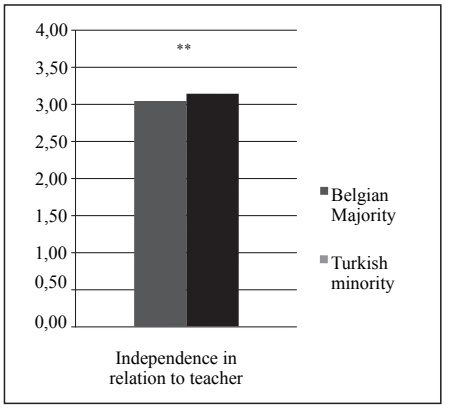

Figure A5.2 Levels of Independence

Associations with engagement and achievement

The repeated analyses for Turkish minority and Belgian majority youth's engagement in the extended first wave data replicated the findings of Study 6 in that i) Relatedness was positively associated with Engagement for both Turkish minority and Belgian majority (h2a); and ii) unlike their Belgian majority peers, Turkish minority students who were more independent in relation to their teacher were less engaged (h2a). Furthermore, and in line with our original hypothesis (h3a), Turkish minority students who combined high independence with high relatedness could engage more in school (see Table A5.2).

The repeated analyses for Turkish minority and Belgian majority youth's achievement (i.e., self-reported Dutch grades) in the extended first wave data replicated the findings of Study 6 in that Relatedness was positively associated with achievement for both Turkish minority and Belgian majority (h2a). Similarly, Independence in relation to teacher was positively associated with achievement for both Turkish minority and Belgian majority students. Finally, again replicating Study 5 and confirming study predictions, Turkish minority students who combined high independence with high relatedness could achieve better in Dutch (h3a), (see Table A5.3).

Table A5.2
Stepwise Multilevel Models of Self-Construal and Engagement across Cultural Groups

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Fixed part:					
Intercept	3.651 (.032)***	3.634 (.032)***	3.624 (.034)***	3.657 (.032)***	3.652 (.032)***
Gender		.149 (.031)***	.149 (.031)***	.122 (.030)***	.122 (.029)***
Age		-.118 (.015)***	-.119 (.015)***	-.098 (.015)***	-.097 (.015)***
Track		-.111 (.044)	-.113 (.044)*	-.120 (.042)*	-.126 (.042)***
Cognitive performance		.160 (.095)	.173 (.096)	.089 (.093)	.078 (.093)
Culture			.030 (.042)	-.032 (.040)	-.065 (.041)
Independence				-.069 (.016)***	-.025 (.020)
Relatedness				.243 (.017)***	.237 (.020)***
Relatedness *Culture					.050 (.037)
Independence*Culture					-.150 (.036)***
Relatedness*Independence					-.005 (.021)
Relatedness*Independence *Culture					.068 (.035)*
Random part:					
Residual variances					
School level	.050 (.012)*	.030 (.008)*	.030 (.008)*	.027 (.007)*	.025 (.007)*
Individual level	.503 (.015)***	.486 (.014)***	.486 (.014)***	.4439 (.013)***	.435 (.013)***
Model fit					
Degrees of freedom	3	7	8	10	14
-2*LL (IGLS)	5311.077	5089.721	5089.199	4791.738	4767.852
$\Delta\chi^2$		221.356***	0.522	297.461***	23.886***
N	2426	2370	2370	2344	2344

Note. Reference categories: Gender (boys), Culture (majority), Track (academic).

Unstandardized coefficients B and standard errors are provided; * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Table A5.3
Stepwise multilevel models of self-construal and achievement across cultural groups

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Fixed part:					
Intercept	3.408 (.035)***	3.364 (.035)***	3.411 (.035)***	3.410 (.034)***	3.409 (.035)***
Gender		.058 (.026)*	.059 (.025)*	.053 (.025)*	.054 (.025)*
Age		-.097 (.013)***	-.091 (.013)***	-.092 (.013)***	-.088 (.013)***
Track		.183 (.041)***	.200 (.041)***	.197 (.041)***	.191 (.041)***
Cognitive performance		.393 (.083)***	.335 (.084)***	.318 (.084)***	.313 (.083)***
Culture			-.171 (.037)***	-.151 (.037)***	-.157 (.038)***
Independence				.070 (.014)***	.079 (.017)***
Relatedness				.037 (.014)***	.051 (.017)***
Relatedness *Culture					-.021 (.033)
Independence*Culture					-.032 (.033)
Relatedness*Independence					.003 (.018)
Relatedness*Independence *Culture					.081 (.032)**
Random part: Residual variances					
School level	.064 (.014)*	.050 (.011)*	.044 (.010)*	.042 (.010)*	.043 (.010)*
Individual level	.242 (.008)***	.232 (.008)***	.230 (.008)***	.227 (.008)***	.225 (.008)***
Model fit					
Degrees of freedom	3	7	8	10	14
-2*LL (IGLS)	2662.149	2522.026	2500.886	2454.307	2440.571
$\Delta\chi^2$		140.123***	21.14***	46.579***	13.736***
N	1792	1752	1752	1737	1737

Note. Reference categories: Gender (boys), Culture (majority), Track (academic).
Unstandardized coefficients B and standard errors are provided; * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.